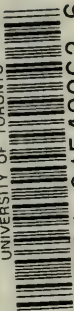



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PORCUPINE'S
WORKS;

CONTAINING VARIOUS

WRITINGS AND SELECTIONS,

EXHIBITING A FAITHFUL PICTURE

OF THE

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA;

OF THEIR

GOVERNMENTS, LAWS, POLITICS AND RESOURCES;

OF THE CHARACTERS OF THEIR

PRESIDENTS, GOVERNORS, LEGISLATORS, MAGIS-
TRATES AND MILITARY MEN;

AND OF THE

CUSTOMS, MANNERS, MORALS, RELIGION, VIRTUES
AND VICES

OF THE PEOPLE:

COMPRISING ALSO

A COMPLETE SERIES OF HISTORICAL DOCUMENTS

AND REMARKS,

FROM THE END OF THE WAR, IN 1763,

TO THE

ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT, IN MARCH, 1801.

BY WILLIAM COBBETT.

IN TWELVE VOLUMES.

(A Volume to be added annually.)

VOL. IV.

LONDON:

PRINTED FOR COBBETT AND MORGAN, AT THE CROWN
AND MITRE, PALL MALL.

MAY, 1801.

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T A B L E
OF THE
C O N T E N T S
OF
V O L. IV.

	Page
1. <i>The Scare-Crow:—Being an infamous Letter, sent to Mr. John Oldden, threatening Destruction to his House, and Violence to the Person of his Tenant, William Cobbett, with Remarks on the same</i>	3
2. <i>The Life and Adventures of Peter Porcupine, with a full and fair Account, of all his authoring Transactions: Being a sure and infallible Guide for all enterprising young Men, who wish to make a Fortune by writing Pamphlets . . .</i>	25
3. <i>Political, Censor No. V.</i>	73
4. <i>The Diplomatic Blunderbuss, containing Adel's Notes to the Secretary of State; as also his Cockade Proclamation . . .</i>	139
5. <i>Political Censor, No. VI.</i>	211
6. <i>Political Censor, No. VII.</i>	279
7. <i>Political Censor, No. VIII.</i>	335
8. <i>A Brief Statement of the Injuries and Insults received from France</i>	371
9. <i>Washington's Retiring from the Presidency</i>	378

THE
S C A R E - C R O W ;

BEING
AN INFAMOUS LETTER,

SENT TO

MR. JOHN OLDDEN,

THREATENING DESTRUCTION TO HIS HOUSE, AND VIOLENCE TO
THE PERSON OF HIS TENANT, WILLIAM COBBETT.

WITH
REMARKS ON THE SAME.

INTRODUCTION.

IN the Spring of the year 1796, I took a house in Second Street, Philadelphia, for the purpose of carrying on the bookselling business, which I looked upon as being at once a means of getting money, and of propagating writings against the French. I went into my house in May, but the shop could not be gotten ready for some time; and, from one delay and another, I was prevented from opening till the second week in July.

Till I took this house, I had remained almost entirely unknown, as a writer. A few persons did, indeed, know that I was the person, who had assumed the name of PETER PORCUPINE; but the fact was by no means a matter of notoriety. The moment, however, that I had taken a lease of a large house, the transaction became a topic of public conversation, and the eyes of the Democrats and the French, who still lorded it over the city, and who owed me a mutual grudge, were fixed upon me.

I thought my situation somewhat perilous. Such truths as I had published, no man had dared to utter, in the United States, since the rebellion. I knew that these truths had mortally offended the leading men amongst the Democrats, who could, at any time, muster a mob quite sufficient to destroy my house, and to murder me. I had not a friend, to whom I could look with any reasonable hope of receiving efficient support; and, as to the law, I had seen too much of republican justice, to expect any thing but persecution from that quarter. In short, there were, in Philadelphia, about ten

thousand persons, all of whom would have rejoiced to see me murdered; and there might, probably, be two thousand, who would have been very sorry for it; but not above fifty of whom would have stirred an inch to save me.

As the time approached for opening my shop, my friends grew more anxious for my safety. It was recommended to me, to be cautious how I exposed, at my window, any thing that might provoke the people; and, above all, not to put up any *aristocratical portraits*, which would certainly cause my windows to be demolished.

I saw the danger; but also saw, that I must, at once, set all danger at defiance, or live in everlasting subjection to the prejudices and caprice of the democratical mob. I resolved on the former; and, as my shop was to open on a Monday morning, I employed myself all day on Sunday, in preparing an exhibition, that I thought would put the courage and the power of my enemies to the test. I put up in my windows, which were very large, all the portraits that I had in my possession of *kings, queens, princes, and nobles*. I had all the English Ministry; several of the Bishops and Judges; the most famous Admirals; and, in short, every picture that I thought likely to excite rage in the enemies of Great Britain.

Early on the Monday morning, I took down my shutters. Such a sight had not been seen in Philadelphia for twenty years. Never since the beginning of the rebellion, had any one dared to hoist at his window the portrait of George the Third.

In order to make the test as perfect as possible, I had put up some of the "*worthies of the Revolution*," and had found out fit companions for them. I had coupled *Franklin* and *Marat* together; and, in another place, *M. Kean* and *Ankerstrom*.—The following tract records some amongst the consequences.

THE
SCARE-CROW, &c.

ON the nineteenth instant, Mr. Elmslie, partner of Mr. John Oldden, called on me with the infamous letter, which, without further preface, I shall lay before the reader.

“ *To Mr. John Olden Merchant,*
“ *Chesnut Street.*

“ SIR,

“ A certain William Cobbett alias
“ Peter Porcupine, I am informed is your tenant.
“ This daring *scoundrell*, not satisfied with having
“ repeatedly traduced the people of this country,
“ vilified the most eminent and patriotic characters
“ among us and *grossly* abused our allies the French,
“ in his detestable productions, has now the asto-
“ nishing effrontery to expose those very publica-
“ tions at his window for sale, as well as certain
“ prints indicative of the prowess of our enemies
“ the British and the disgrace of the French. Cal-
“ culating largely upon the moderation or rather
“ *pucellanimity* of our citizens, this puppy supposes
“ he may even *insult* us with impunity. But he
“ will e'er long find himself dreadfully mistaken.
“ *Tho* his miserable publications have not been
“ hitherto considered worthy of notice, the late
“ *manifestation*

“ *manifestation* of his impudence and enmity to
 “ this country will not be passed over. With a
 “ view therefore of preventing your feeling the
 “ blow designed for him, I now address you.
 “ When the time of retribution arrives, it may not
 “ be convenient to discriminate between the inno-
 “ cent and the guilty. Your property therefore
 “ may suffer. For depend upon it brick walls
 “ will not skreen the rascal from punishment when
 “ once the business is undertaken. As a friend
 “ therefore I advise you to save your property by
 “ either compelling Mr. Porcupine to leave your
 “ house or at all events oblige him to cease ex-
 “ posing his abominable productions or any of
 “ his courtley prints at his window for sale. In
 “ this way only you may avoid danger to your
 “ house and perhaps save the rotten *carcase* of
 “ your tenant for the present.”

“ A HINT.”

“ *July 16th, 1796.*”

I have copied this loving epistle, word for word, and letter for letter, preserving the false orthography, as the manner of spelling may probably lead some of my readers to a discovery of the writer.

When Mr. Vicessimus Knox (who is a sort of a Democrat), publishes his next edition of *Elegant Epistles*, he will do well to give this a place amongst them; for, it is certainly a master-piece in its way. It will be a good pattern for the use of future ruffians, who wish to awe a man into silence, when they are incapable of resisting him in print. But, the worst of it will be, the compiler will not have it in his power to say, that this was attended with success.

If I am right in my guess, the family of the author of this powder blunderbuss, makes a considerable figure in the *Tyburn Chronicle*. His grand-
father

father was hanged for house-breaking, and his *papa* came to the southern part of these States on his travels, by the direction of a righteous judge, and twelve honest men.

So much for the author; now to his scrawl.

The cut-throat acts in character. He proceeds exactly in the manner of the Revolutionary Tribunal at Paris: that is, he arraigns, condemns and executes, all in the space of about five minutes. The first charge he brings against me is, that I have "repeatedly traduced the people of this country." I take notice of this, not because it is found in this base and cowardly letter, but because it has long been the theme of all those who wish to decry my performances, and because I am willing to let slip no opportunity of declaring my respect for a public, from whom those performances have ever, from the publication of my first essay, to the present moment, met with the most liberal encouragement.

Let any stupid member of the broken-up, back-door clubs point out, if he can, one single sentence in the writings of Peter Porcupine, where the people of the United States are traduced. 'Tis true, I have not fallen into the beaten track of confounding the good with the bad, of lumping the enemies and the friends of public happiness together, and fawning on them indiscriminately. I have not said that they are all virtuous and wise, and that virtue and wisdom is to be found amongst them alone. No; I am no spaniel, nor will I be one. I address myself to the good sense of my readers, and to that alone: if they want a buffoon, or whining parasite, I am not their man.

But, I must do the people of this country the justice to say, that this is not their taste. They stand in no need of base flattery. Their love of truth has been fully exemplified in the rapid sale of

my essays, while their contempt for the popular parasites has been unequivocally expressed in the fate of all the miserable attempts that have been made, to oppose their progress. I have received letters of thanks, and congratulation from every quarter of the Union, even from Richmond in Virginia: and not from "*British Agents*," but from native Americans, real lovers of their country. I have received offers of service from persons of the first consequence, in their divers towns and countries, persons whom I never saw or heard of, previous to their communications. Let any fawning scribbler on liberty and equality produce such testimony of public approbation, if he can.

But, I have, it seems, "vilified some of the "most eminent and *patriotic* characters amongst "us." 'Tis pity, to be sure, that these *patriotic* characters should be vilified more than they have vilified themselves. What could I, or any body else, say to vilify a man, for instance, a man who had made overtures to sell his country for "a few "thousands of dollars;" or another, who had done all in his power, "to stop the wheels of government," by stirring men up to open rebellion against it? It is not I who have vilified the *eminent patriots*, it is Citizen Joseph Fauchet, the old Father Confessor on the banks of the Schuylkill, when he calls them, "the pretended patriots of America," and when he says, they "have already their prices." Surely I might take upon me to repeat the expressions of the Minister of France, of our good and faithful allies, without being chargeable with vilifying the *eminent patriots*. And, if I have laughed at little Mr. Swanwick, what have I done more than every man, every woman, and every child, in the United States, at least every one that ever saw his person, listened to his harangues, or read his poetry? I wonder what I have done, that I must
not

not laugh, that I must remain in a corner as demure as a cat, while every body else are bursting their sides.

In France, the only country in Europe, (according to *Doctor Jaundice's* account of it), which is *not* in chains. Under that free and happy sky, the mild and humane rulers often issue decrees, forbidding people to weep or look sad, on pain of death, even at the moment they hear the last groans of their parents; but they have never yet carried their *douce humanité* so far as to forbid men to smile. They permit, nay, encourage, both men and women, to sing and laugh, and cut capers, at the very foot of the guillotine, while the pavement is running with human blood; and yet my cruel and inflexible persecutors will not suffer me to laugh, when I hear them bawling at a civic festival, or see them boxing with an old image that they had formerly adored.

Again, the cut-throat says, I have “*grossly*” “abused our allies the French.” This is false. By the treaty made between this country and the King of France, the French nation is, in my opinion, no more the ally of the United States, than the Chinese are. Louis the Sixteenth was, indeed, the ally, “the *great* and *good* ally” (to make use of the words of Congress) of this country; and, I leave any one who has read my works, to determine whether I have ever abused him or not. The Queen of France, the calumniated Antoinette, was the first foreigner, except some generous Englishmen, that advanced a shilling in the American cause: have I ever abused her memory? It was not I, though it was an Englishman, that cut off her head, and besprinkled her garments with blood, on a sign, hung over a public road. It was not I that guillotined her husband, in an automaton, every day, from nine in the morning to nine at night,
for

for the diversion of the inhabitants of Philadelphia*. I did not rejoice at the death of an innocent young prince, whose birth had been celebrated with uncommon pomp in this city. in the prosperous days of his father. I never reviled the gallant French officers and army who served in this country, and
to

* Advertisement, extracted from the Daily Advertiser of the 21st November 1794.

“ EXHIBITION,

“ *Of Figures in Composition at full Length,*

“ (Corner of Second and Callowhill Streets)

“ —At the Sign of the Black Bear—

“ Late King of France, together with his Queen, taking her last Farewel of him in the Temple, the day preceding his execution. The whole is a striking likeness, in full stature, and dressed as they were at the time.

“ The King is represented standing; his Queen on her knees, by his right side, overwhelmed with sorrow, and ready to faint, the King looking tenderly at her.

“ Second is the Scaffold on which he was executed, whereon the King stands in full view of the Guillotine; before him is a Priest on his knees, with a Crucifix in one hand, and a Prayer Book in the other; on the side of the Guillotine stands the executioner prepared to do his duty.

“ When the first signal is given, the Priest rises on his feet; the King lays himself on the block, where he is secured; the executioner then turns, and prepares to do his duty; and, when the second signal is given, the executioner drops the knife, and severs the head from the body in one second; the head falls in a basket, and the lips which are first red, turn blue; the whole is performed to the life, by an invisible machine, without any perceivable assistance.

“ *Made by the first Italian Artist, of the name of*

“ C O L U M B A.

“ The workmanship has been admired by the most professed judges, wherever it has been seen.

“ * * * The proprietors humbly hope for the encouragement
of

to whom America is really indebted; but, on the contrary, I have ever regretted their fate, and expressed my detestation of the barbarians who have dipped their hands in their blood.

The next charge is, I have “the *astonishing* *effrontery* to expose for sale, certain prints, indicative of the prowess of the British, and the disgrace of the French.” Here the hang-in-chains writer alludes to a print, entitled, “Earl Howe’s Decisive Victory over the French Fleet, on the first of June, 1794.” This print has had a vast concourse of admirers. I had but two of them, one was sold instantly. and I have had more than five hundred applications for the other. What is very singular, is, that one-third part of those who have wished to purchase this print were French Republicans. The print is not sold, nor shall it be. I will keep it in my window, as long as any violence is talked of, and when that ceases, I will have it put in a gilt frame, and hung up in a conspicuous part of my house.

This offensive print is no more than a true representation of the action of the famous *first of June*, and if it be “indicative of the disgrace of our allies,” it is no fault of mine. If defeat is disgrace, they were certainly most shockingly disgraced on that day. But, I thought it had been long ago agreed on, that, though the fleet got a

of the public, as nothing shall be wanting on their part to render the exhibition *pleasing* and *satisfactory* to their patrons.

“Price 3s. Children half price.

“To be seen from 9 o’clock in the morning, until 9 at night.”

This exhibition actually continued for several months, and yet no one ever threatened to murder the proprietor.

drubbing,

drubbing, and a pretty decent one too, the victory was, *in fact*, on the side of the French. I am sure Barrere told the French people so; and I am sure most of our Newspapers told the people of America the same story. How many believed them, I will not pretend to say; but if it was a victory, *in fact*, I am treating people with a representation of it, that's all, and am by no means exposing what is "indicative of British prowess."

When William Penn was tracing out his beloved city of Philadelphia; if any one had told him, that the time would come, when a man should be threatened with murder, for offering to sale, in one of the streets, a print "indicative of British prowess," I much question, if the good man, though a Quaker, would not have said that it was a d—ned lie. Poor old fellow! he little dreamed what was to happen at the close of the "enlightened eighteenth century."

I could turn back to American publications, in which the prowess of Britons is the pleasing theme; in which the French are called, what I never called them, "poor effeminate poltroons." I could bring my readers back to the time, when they set the savages on to scalp the people of these States, and when the people of these States solicited the King of Great Britain to march an army against them. Has the American Revolution entirely changed the dispositions, affections, and even nature of the two rival nations? Did Great Britain lose every spark of courage, generosity, and virtue, when she lost America? That event certainly could not metamorphose the then inhabitants of the Island, nor could it have any great effect on their children, or at least I presume so. The people of the United States have solemnly declared, in their declaration of Independence, that the British nation are by nature, *just and magnanimous*; and will they now swallow

swallow their words at the command of the hirelings of the devastators of France?

To return to the print "indicative of British prowess;" have I not as good a right to exhibit proof of this prowess at my window, as the Democrats have to exhibit the proofs of theirs on the front of the church opposite it? The half-destroyed bust of George II. remains as a monument of their valour, and why should I not be permitted to expose a print to perpetuate the valour of Earl Howe and his gallant fleet? These two pieces are, besides, necessary to the explanation of each other; for when a stranger asks, why the bust of the old king was so unmercifully mangled, the person he addresses himself to, shows him the naval victory of Lord Howe. "There, Sir," says he, "is the fatal cause." If the impertinent querist goes on, and asks, how George the Second, who died upwards of thirty years ago (and whose bust remained untouched during the whole of the American war) could deserve this rough treatment on account of the drubbing given to the French fleet in 1794, we cut him short at once, by telling him, that he is a rank aristocrat, and totally unfit to live in a land of freedom.

Mr. Oldden is told, that there is but one way left of saving his house, and that is, by obliging me to cease exposing my "*courtly* prints" at my window for sale. It would seem by this, that the cut-throats look upon me as Oldden's vassal; I shall convince them that I am not. To oblige me to desist from any branch of my lawful occupation would prove the toughest job that ever my landlord undertook, should he be silly enough to attempt it. As to obliging me to quit his house, there are no hopes there neither; for I have a lease of it, and a lease that I will hold in spite of all the sans-culottes in America.

But

But what does the cut-throat mean by "*courtly* prints?" I have Ankerstrom the regicide; that can be no courtly print at any rate. I have, indeed, the portraits of the late king and queen of France; but as they are dead, one would imagine that they could create no alarm. Poor Louis little thought when he sent hither those portraits of himself and his queen, which now hang up in the Congress-House, that the day would come, when a bookseller would be threatened with murder for exhibiting his likeness, in the capital of the Union. Others have exhibited him at their windows, stretched on the scaffold; they had a right so to do; every man to his taste, and I to mine.—'Tis true, I have the portraits of Mr. Pitt and Lord Grenville, and several other noble personages; but then, I have Marat and Lepelletier, by way of rubbing off as I go. I have a Right Reverend Father in God in one corner of my window, and if I could procure the right irreverend Father in the Devil, Tom Paine, I would hoist him up in the other; for want of him I have Doctor Priestley, who, upon a shift, is very capable of supplying his place.

I have some groups, too, executed by order of the French Convention, which, I humbly presume, will not be called "*courtly*." The taking the Bastille decorates one pane of my window, as it did the Birmingham club-room; the French people on their marrow-bones acknowledging the existence of a God, by order of Robespierre, decorates another; and a third is ornamented with a representation of the glorious "*victory*" obtained over the Swiss guards, on the 10th of August, 1792. I am promised a print of Poor Richard, in the arms of a brace of angels, who are carrying him off, God knows whither.

I am sure, now, all these things are republican enough; and if my sovereign lords will but please
to

to take my whole collection into view, I cannot think that they will find me so criminal as I have been represented.

And then, there are my books and stationary, almost the whole of which is English. I have been looking round, and cannot for my life find any other American book than Adams's Defence of the American Constitutions, and Peter Porcupine's works. The latter of these my sovereigns have proscribed, and the former speaks about the *well-born*: so that, unless my gracious lords will condescend to permit me to sell these offensive things, I must shut up shop. But, if I must, I hope all the rest of the trade will be compelled to do the same. There is Mr. Campbell has published Hume's History of England, a book as full as it can hold of king's and queen's pictures, and *aristocracy* of all sorts and sizes; and contains, besides, a great number of instances of "British prowess," and of "the disgrace of our allies." Mr. Dobson too, and Mr. Carey, have published books on *Royal* paper, and Mr. Brown has dared to publish his gazette even on *Imperial*. These are crimes that I have never either committed or attempted. Is not this anti-republicanism to the last degree, and a downright insult on the citizens of the United States?—Again, there is Mr. Young, and several others that I could mention, who have the assurance to expose for sale, Walkden's *Royal British* ink-powder, stamped with the "tyrant George's" arms. Shall all this go unpunished, and shall poor I be eat alive merely for exposing a print or two? Forbid it justice! Democratic justice forbid it!

Nor, should a strict inquisition take place, will the great Mr. Franklin Bache himself come off blameless. He has informed the public, that he is in correspondence with *Peter Pindar*, and it is notorious that this Peter is not only an *aristocrat*, but
a declared

a declared *royalist*. He has given Tom Paine the severest lashing he ever met with. And as to “trading the people of this country,” does not Peter traduce them, when, in speaking of the United States, he says—

“Where sons of liberty their pæans sing,
“And every scoundrel convict is a king.”

Is not this traducing the people? And yet Mr. Bache publicly boasts of his intimacy with this fellow, and takes infinite pains to propagate his works! “Birds of a feather will flock together,” says the old proverb, and it is no more than reasonable to suppose, that Mr. Bache, whatever mask he may choose to wear, participates in the sentiments of his friend Pindar.

Nay, even Doctor Franklin was an aristocrat, and an abominable one too, as may be seen in the very last item of his last will and testament. “I bequeath,” says he, “to my worthy friend George Washington, my gold-headed cane, surmounted with a *Liberty-Cap*: if it were a *Sceptre* he is worthy of it!” Thus, you see, reader, after all the Doctor’s clamour against kings, he thought a *Sceptre* something better than a *Liberty-Cap*. That the Doctor was sincere here there is no doubt; men are generally so upon their death-beds, howsoever profound their hypocrisy may have been through life.—Poor Richard certainly deserves to be tumbled from his niche for this dying confession, and, I trust, “when the day of retribution comes,” as my cut-throat terms it, he will not be forgotten. ’Tis ridiculous, to be sure, to lay violent hands on a statue; but as this kind of heroism has made a very considerable figure in this “Age of Reason,” I do not see why old Lightning-Rod should escape any more than another.

Doctor

Doctor Priestley, in his first American publication, congratulates himself on being *now* got into a country, where he can publish his sentiments, be they what they may, without any fear of persecution from either *church* or *state*. But he had forgot that there was the democratic gang, more intolerant than either. What will he say, when he sees the letter of my eaves-dropping cut-throat? Will he not begin to repent of having so bitterly complained of the want of liberty of the press in England? One of his excuses for quitting his country was, that he had threatening letters sent to him. Perhaps my cut-throat thinks that all Englishmen are like the Doctor; but he will find himself mistaken: all the stink pots of all the democrats in the western hemisphere shall never drive me from America, nor make me take coach in disguise, as the Birmingham philosopher did.

The democratic societies (for they were then in existence) might, perhaps, have informed Doctor Priestley, that he should be permitted to print whatever he pleased, and, if so, he might well venture to say that the press was free for him; but, unless he had received such previous intimation, his boast of enjoying the liberty of the press was made very much at hazard.

These people plead the liberty of the press, in the fullest extent of the word; they claim a right to print and publish whatever they please; they tell you that free discussion must lead to the truth, and a thousand other arguments they have always ready at their fingers ends to oppose to every kind of restraint. They have calumniated the best of governments and the best of men; they revile all that is good and all that is sacred, and that too in language the most brutal and obscene; and, if they are accused of indecency, or called on for proofs of what they advance, they take shelter in their sanctuary;

tury, *the liberty of the press*. But, on the other hand, if any one has courage enough to oppose them, and is so happy as to do it with success; if the mildest of their expressions are retorted, they instantly threaten their opponents with violence and even murder. Their doctrine is, that the press is free for them, and them alone. This is democratic liberty of the press; just such as is enjoyed in that free and happy country whose revolutionary career the people of this country are called upon to imitate.

Much has been said and sung about the Sedition Bills of Mr. Pitt, and the restraint on the liberty of the press in England; but, whatever that restraint may be, it is by law. The law says, that there are such and restraints, and, therefore, he who trespasses deserves punishment. The laws of this country say, that the press is free, and we well know what invidious comparisons are continually made between this country and England, in that respect; but, if men are to be murdered, or have their houses burnt for exercising this much talked of liberty, it is time to cease giving it a place among the advantages that the United States enjoy over the "mother country," as it is sometimes called in derision. When a foreigner arrives in Great Britain, he looks at the written law; there he sees how far he is permitted to carry the use of the press; and, so long as he keeps within the bounds prescribed, his person and property is safe. There is no subaltern power, whose consent he has to obtain, before he dares publish a book, or expose a print for sale. His house is not threatened with destruction, because his window exhibits what is indicative of the prowess of his nation, and of the disgrace of their enemies; at any rate, he is not threatened with murder, for having stepped forward in defence of the laws and the government of the country.

When

When I first took up the pen, I found a good deal of difficulty (as the public will see, one of these days) to get access to the press at all ; not because the manuscript I offered contained any thing libellous or immoral, but because it was not adapted to what was supposed to be the taste of the public. In fact, the press was at the time, generally speaking, as far as related to what is usually termed politics, in the hands of a daring and corrupt faction, who, by deceiving some, and intimidating others, had blocked up every avenue to true information. My publications were looked upon as so many acts of rebellion against this despotic combination, and, therefore, every possible trick was essayed to discredit them and their author ; all these tricks have, however, proved vain.

My object, and my only object, in writing, was to contribute my mite towards the support of a government under which I enjoyed peace and plenty. This object I have pursued as steadily as my small share of leisure would allow me ; and that I have not laboured in vain, the present conduct of the democratic faction most amply proves. The cut-throat's letter, which I now lay before the public, shows to what a state of desperation they are driven. They at first made some pitiful attempts to answer me ; those sunk out of sight, and were forgotten for ever. They then vomited forth calumnies against the author ; calumnies so totally void of all truth and even probability, that even their own herd did not believe a word they contained *. Next they published a blasphemous book under my assumed name : this failed also, and the city of New-

* Among other abominable falsehoods contained in the Aurora concerning me, is my having refused to pay my taxes in this country. To which I answer, that, the small portion of taxes that I have had to pay, has been paid without hesitation.

York has witnessed their shameful defeat as well as Philadelphia. At last, smarting all over with the lashes I had given them, and fearing a continuation, they have had recourse to the poor sneaking trick of a threatening letter. A trick of robbers, who have not courage enough to venture their necks. I have often been congratulated on my triumph over this once towering, but fallen and despicable faction, and I now possess undeniable proof that the triumph is complete.

It is in vain that the cut-throat would persuade us, that the democrats do not think my "miserable productions worthy of notice;" the very scrawl of this their stupid secretary proves that they have dreaded them, and that they yet dread them. If they despised my "miserable productions," why not laugh at them, as I do at theirs? Why not suffer them to rot on the shelf, like the Political Progress of Britain, or be kicked about the street like the Aurora? Threatening Mr. Oldden with the destruction of his house, unless he could prevail on me to cease publishing, is curious enough in itself; but it is much more curious, when accompanied with the observation, that my publications are *miserable* and *unworthy of notice*.

Of all the stupid inventions that ever entered the brains of this bungling clan, the cut-throat letter to Mr. Oldden is the most ridiculous. Had they studied for years, they could not have found out any thing that would have pleased me so well.

No man, either in a private or public capacity, ever called on me twice for payment of the same sum. The taxes for the property I now rent I have paid up to January next. I owe nobody, neither the State nor the people of the State, a farthing: let the members of the *ci-devant* democratic society say as much if they can.

It

It will for ever silence their clamours about the liberty of the press; it will prove to the people, most fully, the truth of what I have always told them; that is, that these "pretended patriots," these advocates for liberty and equality, would, if they had become masters, have been a divan of cruel and savage tyrants. That they know nothing of liberty but the name, and that they make use of that name merely to have the power of abolishing the thing. It will prove to all the world, that they have long dreaded me, that they still dread me, and that I despise them.

I shall conclude with this unequivocal declaration; that, as to the past, I would not retract a sentence, nor a single expression of what I have written, if the most bloody of the most bloody democrats had his foot upon my breast, and his long knife at my throat; and that, for the future, I will continue to publish and expose for sale whatever I please, and that I will never cease to oppose, in some way or other, the enemies of the country in which I live, so long as one of them shall have the impudence to shew his head. Hitherto I have given acids only, I will now drench them with vinegar mixed with gall.

FROM THE FREE PRESS
OF WILLIAM COBBETT,
JULY 22, 1796.

END OF THE SCARE-CROW.



THE
LIFE AND ADVENTURES
OF
PETER PORCUPINE,
WITH
A FULL AND FAIR ACCOUNT
OF
ALL HIS AUTHORIZING TRANSACTIONS;
BEING
A SURE AND INFALLIBLE GUIDE FOR ALL ENTERPRISING YOUNG MEN WHO
WISH TO MAKE A FORTUNE
BY
WRITING PAMPHLETS.

“ Now, you lying varlets, you shall see how a plain tale will put you
“ down.”

SHAKESPEARE.



P R E F A C E.

THE celebrated Dean of St. Patrick's somewhere observes that a man of talents no sooner emerges from obscurity, than all the blockheads are instantly up in arms against him. Fully persuaded of the truth of this observation, I should have been prepared for hostility, had I imagined myself a man of talents ; but, knowing the contrary too well, I little expected that the harmless essays from my pen would have conjured up against me this numerous and stupid host. It is their misfortune, never to form a right conception of any person or thing, and therefore their abuse is not always a certain proof of merit in the object on which it is bestowed : their ignorance lessens the honour conferred by their envy, hatred and malice.

I have long been the butt of the silly aspersions of this grovelling tribe ; but their spite never discovered itself in its deepest colours, till they saw me, as they imagined, “ issue from poverty to the appearance of better condition.” Then it was that their gall ran over, and jaundiced their whole countenances ; then it was that the stupidest of all stupid gazettes, that lewd and common strumpet, the *Aurora*, became pregnant with the following *bastard*, as abundant in falsehood as any one that ever sprang from the loins of *Poor Richard*.

“ FOR

“ FOR THE AURORA.

“ HISTORY OF PETER PORCUPINE.

“ MR. BACHE,

“ As the people of America may not be informed who PETER PORCUPINE is, the celebrated manufacturer of *lies*, and retailer of *filth*, I will give you some little account of this pestiferous animal. This wretch was obliged to *abscond* from his darling *Old England* to avoid being turned off into the other world before, what he supposed, his time. It may be well imagined, that in a land of liberty, and flowing with milk and honey, his *precipitate retreat* could not have been owing to any offence committed against the government very honourable to himself. Gnawed by the worm that never dies, his own wretchedness would ever prevent him from making any attempt in favour of human happiness. His usual occupation at home was that of a *garret-scribbler*, excepting a little *night-business* occasionally, to supply unavoidable exigencies: Grub-street did not answer his purposes, and being scented by certain tip-staffs for something more than scribbling, he took a *French leave* for France. His evil genius pursued him here, and *as his fingers were as long as ever*, he was obliged as suddenly to leave the Republic, which has now drawn forth all his venom for her attempt to do him *justice*. On his arrival in this country, he figured some time as a *pedagogue*; but as this employment scarcely furnished him salt to his porridge, he having been literally without hardly bread to eat, and not a second shirt to his back, he resumed his old occupation of

“ scribbling.

“ scribbling, having little chance of success in the
“ other employments which drove him to this
“ country. His talent at *lies* and *Billingsgate rbe-*
“ *toric*, introduced him to the notice of a certain
“ foreign agent, who was known during the Revo-
“ lution by the name of *traitor*. This said agent
“ has been seen to pay frequent visits to PETER.
“ To atone for his transgressions in the mother
“ country, as well as to get a little more bread to
“ eat than he had been accustomed to, he enlisted
“ in the cause of his gracious majesty. From the
“ extreme of poverty and filth, he has suddenly
“ sprouted into at least the appearance of bet-
“ ter condition; for he has taken a house for
“ the sale of his large poison, at the enormous rent
“ of *twelve hundred dollars a year*, and has *paid a*
“ *year's rent in advance!!* The public will now be
“ enabled to account for the overflowings of his
“ gall against the Republic of France, and all the
“ Republicans of this country, as well as his de-
“ votion to the cause of tyranny and of Kings.
“ From the frequency of visits paid him by the
“ agent already mentioned, and his sudden change
“ of condition, *secret service-money* must have been
“ liberally employed; for his zeal to make atone-
“ ment to his mother country seems proportioned
“ to the magnitude of his offence, and the *guineas*
“ advanced. As this *fugitive felon* has crept from
“ his hole, his *quills* will now become harmless;
“ for hitherto they have only excited apprehen-
“ sion, because the beast who shot them was
“ concealed. I have a number of anecdotes re-
“ specting him, that I will soon trouble you with,
“ for the amusement of the public. This state-
“ ment will convince PETER, that I know him
“ well, and that I have only disclosed a part of
“ the truth.”

“ PAUL HEDGEHOG.”

This

This *Paul Hedgehog* I know nothing of. I can hardly suppose that he is one of my cousins at New-York: if he be, for the honour of our family, I hope that he is a bastard. But, let Paul be what he will, he is not the only one who has attempted to sink me in the opinion of a public that has ever honoured my essays with distinguished marks of approbation. I have been well informed, that it is currently reported, that Mr. Thomas Bradford, the bookseller, "put a coat upon my back," and that, when I was first favoured with his patronage, I had not a "second shirt to my back."

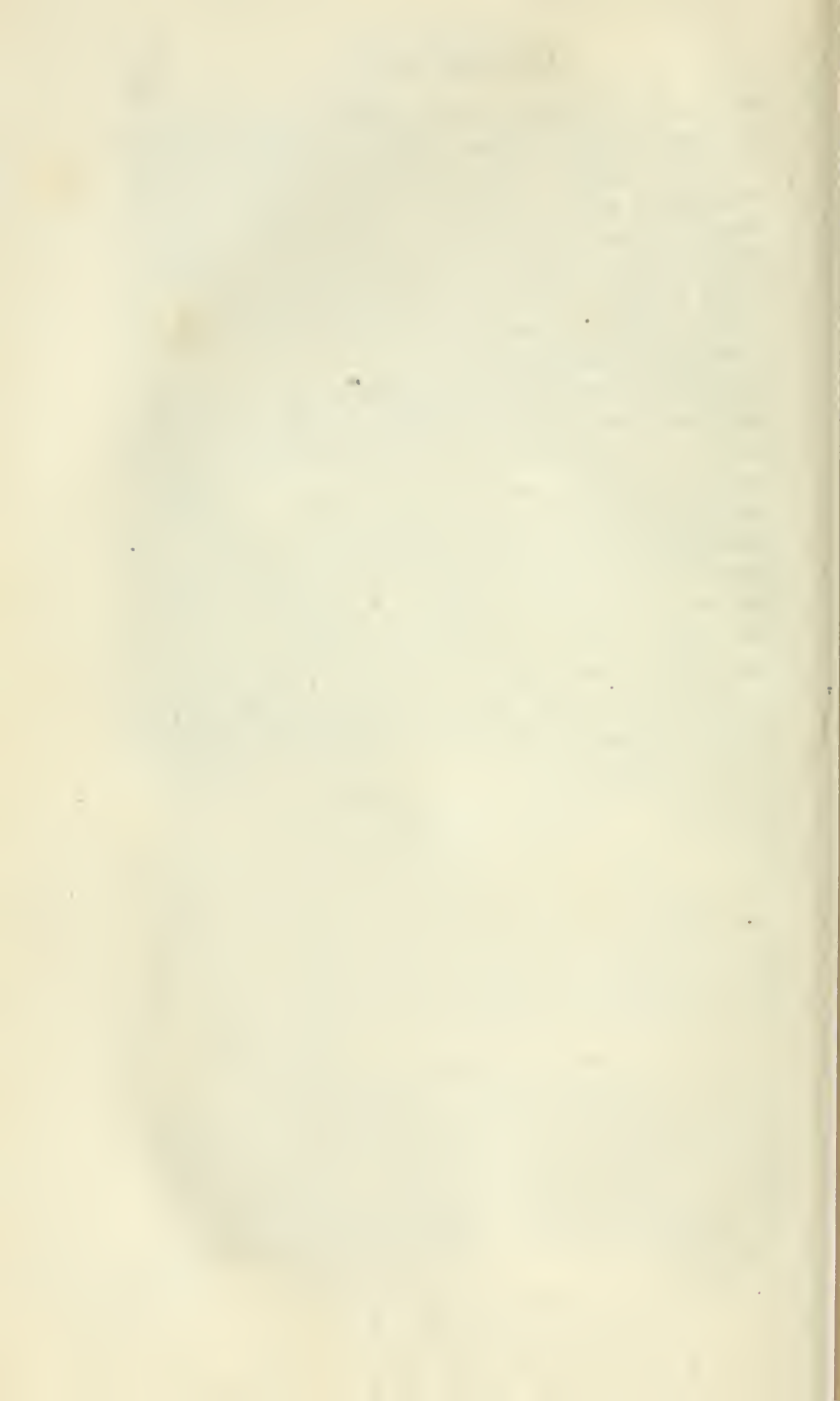
Were I to calculate upon the usual operations of truth and gratitude, I should look upon it as impossible that insinuations of this kind had ever been thrown out by Mr. Bradford, or any of his family; but, now-a-days, in this happy age of reason and liberty, we see such extraordinary things happen in the world, that to doubt, at least, does not argue an excess of credulity or incredulity.

Let the propagators of all these falsehoods be who they may, I am much obliged to them for giving me this opportunity of publishing the History of my Life and Adventures, a thing that I was determined to do, whenever a fair occasion offered, and which never could have been so well timed as at the moment when I am stepping into a situation where I may probably continue for the rest of my life.

I here remember well what I said in my *Observations on the Emigration of Dr. Priestley*. "No man has a right to pry into his neighbour's private concerns; and the opinions of every man are his private concerns, while he keeps them so; that is to say, while they are confined to himself,

“ himself, his family, and particular friends ; but,
“ when he makes those opinions public ; when he
“ once attempts to make converts, whether it be in
“ religion, politics, or any thing else ; when he
“ once comes forward as a candidate for public
“ admiration, esteem, or compassion, his opinions,
“ his principles, his motives, every action of his
“ life, public or private, become the fair subject
“ of public discussion.”

This is a principle I laid down in the first original page I ever wrote for the press. On this principle it is, that I think myself justified in the present publication, and that I am ready to approve of others for publishing whatever they may know concerning me. Let them write on, till their old pens are worn to the stump : let the devils sweat ; let them fire their balls at my reputation, till the very press cries out murder. If ever they hear me whine or complain, I will give them leave to fitter my carcass, and trail my guts along the street, as the French sans-culottes did those of Thomas Mauduit.



THE
LIFE AND ADVENTURES
OF
PETER PORCUPINE.

TO be descended from an illustrious family certainly reflects honour on any man, in spite of the sans-culotte principles of the present day. This is, however, an honour that I have no pretension to. All that I can boast of in my birth, is, that I was born in Old England; the county from whence came the men who explored and settled North America; the country of Penn, and of all those to whom this country is indebted.

With respect to my ancestors, I shall go no further back than my grandfather, and for this plain reason, that I never heard talk of any prior to him. He was a day-labourer; and I have heard my father say, that he worked for one farmer from the day of his marriage to that of his death, upwards of forty years. He died before I was born, but I have often slept beneath the same roof that had sheltered him, and where his widow dwelt for several years after his death. It was a little thatched cottage, with a garden before the door. It had but two windows; a damson tree shaded one, and a clump

clump of filberts the other. Here I and my brothers went every Christmas and Whitsuntide to spend a week or two, and torment the poor old woman with our noise and dilapidations. She used to give us milk and bread for breakfast, an apple pudding for our dinner, and a piece of bread and cheese for supper. Her fire was made of turf, cut from the neighbouring heath, and her evening light was a rush dipped in grease.

How much better is it, thus to tell the naked truth, than to descend to such miserable shifts as Doctor Franklin has had recourse to, in order to persuade people that his forefathers were men of wealth and consideration. Not being able to refer his reader to the herald's office for proofs of the fame and antiquity of his family, he appeals to the etymology of his name, and points out a passage in an obsolete book, whence he has the conscience to insist on our concluding, that, in the Old English language, a *Franklin* meant a man of *good reputation and of consequence*. According to Dr. Johnson, a Franklin was what we now call a gentleman's steward or land-bailiff, a personage one degree above a bumbailiff, and that's all.

Every one will, I hope, have the goodness to believe, that my grandfather was no philosopher. Indeed he was not. He never made a lightning-rod, nor bottled up a single quart of sun-shine, in the whole course of his life. He was no almanack-maker, nor quack, nor chimney-doctor, nor soap-boiler, nor ambassador, nor printer's devil: neither was he a deist, and all his children were born in wedlock. The legacies he left, were, his scythe, his reap-hook, and his flail; he bequeathed no old and irrecoverable debts to an hospital: he never *cheated the poor during his life, nor mocked them in his death*. He has, it is true, been suffered to sleep quietly beneath the green sord; but, if his descendants

scendants cannot point to his statue over the door of a library, they have not the mortification to hear him daily accused of having been a whoremaster, a hypocrite, and an infidel.

My father, when I was born, was a farmer. The reader will easily believe, from the poverty of his parents, that he had received no very brilliant education: he was, however, learned, for a man in his rank of life. When a little boy, he drove plough for two pence a-day; and these his earnings, were appropriated to the expenses of an evening school. What a village school-master could be expected to teach, he had learnt; and had, besides, considerably improved himself, in several branches of the mathematics. He understood land-surveying well, and was often chosen to draw the plans of disputed territory: in short, he had the reputation of possessing experience and understanding, which never fails, in England, to give a man in a country place, some little weight with his neighbours. He was honest, industrious, and frugal; it was not, therefore, wonderful, that he should be situated in a good farm, and happy in a wife of his own rank, like him, beloved and respected.

So much for my ancestors, from whom, if I derive no honour, I derive no shame.

I had (and I hope I yet have) three brothers: the eldest is a shopkeeper; the second a farmer, and the youngest, if alive, is in the service of the Honourable East India Company, a private soldier, perhaps, as I have been in the service of the king. I was born on the ninth of March, 1766: the exact age of my brothers, I have forgotten; but I remember having heard my mother say, that there was but three years and three quarters difference between the age of the oldest and that of the youngest.

A father like ours, it will be readily supposed, did not suffer us to eat the bread of idleness. I do not remember the time, when I did not earn my living. My first occupation was, driving the small birds from the turnip-seed, and the rooks from the peas. When I first trudged a-field, with my wooden bottle and my satchel swung over my shoulders, I was hardly able to climb the gates and stiles; and, at the close of the day, to reach home, was a task of infinite difficulty. My next employment was weeding wheat, and leading a single horse at harrowing barley. Hoeing peas followed, and hence, I arrived at the honour of joining the reapers in harvest, driving the team, and holding plough. We were all of us strong and laborious, and my father used to boast, that he had four boys, the eldest of whom was but fifteen years old, who did as much work as any three men in the parish of Farnham. Honest pride, and happy days!

I have some faint recollection of going to school to an old woman, who, I believe, did not succeed in learning me my letters. In the winter evenings, my father learnt us all to read and write, and gave us a pretty tolerable knowledge of arithmetic. Grammar he did not perfectly understand himself, and therefore his endeavours to learn us that, necessarily failed; for, though he thought he understood it, and though he made us get the rules by heart, we learnt nothing at all of the principles.

Our religion was that of the Church of England, to which I have ever remained attached; the more so, perhaps, as it bears the name of my country. As my ancestors were never persecuted for their religious opinions, they never had an opportunity of giving such a singular proof of their faith, as Doctor Franklin's grandfather did, when he kept his Bible under the lid of a close-stool. (What a book-case!) If I had been in the place of Doctor Franklin,

Franklin, I never would have related this ridiculous circumstance, especially as it must be construed into a boast of his grandfather's having an extraordinary degree of veneration for a book, which, it is well known, he himself *durst* not believe in.

As to politics, we were like the rest of the country people in England; that is to say, we neither knew nor thought any thing about the matter. The shouts of victory, or the murmurs at a defeat, would now-and-then break in upon our tranquillity for a moment; but I do not remember ever having seen a newspaper in the house; and, most certainly, that privation did not render us less industrious, happy, or free.

After, however, the American war had continued for some time, and the cause and nature of it began to be understood, or rather misunderstood, by the lower classes of the people in England, we became a little better acquainted with subjects of this kind. It is well known, that the people were, as to numbers, nearly equally divided in their opinions, concerning that war, and their wishes respecting the result of it. My father was a partizan of the Americans: he used frequently to dispute on the subject, with the gardener of a nobleman who lived near us. This was generally done with good humour, over a pot of our best ale; yet the disputants sometimes grew warm, and gave way to language that could not fail to attract our attention. My father was worsted, without doubt, as he had for antagonist, a shrewd and sensible old Scotchman, far his superior in political knowledge; but he pleaded before a partial audience: we thought there was but one wise man in the world, and that that one was our father. He who pleaded the cause of the Americans, had an advantage, too, with young minds: he had only to represent the king's troops as sent to cut the throats of a people, our

D 2

friends

friends and relations, merely because they would not submit to oppression ; and his cause was gained. Speaking to the passions, is ever sure to succeed on the uninformed.

Men of integrity are generally pretty obstinate, in adhering to an opinion once adopted. Whether it was owing to this, or to the weakness of Mr. Martin's arguments, I will not pretend to say ; but he never could make a convert of my father : he continued an American, and so staunch a one, that he would not have suffered his best friend to drink success to the king's arms at his table. I cannot give the reader a better idea of his obstinacy in this respect, and of the length to which this difference in sentiment was carried in England, than by relating the following instance.

My father used to take one of us with him every year, to the great hop-fair at Wey-Hill. The fair was held at Old Michaelmas-tide, and the journey was, to us, a sort of reward for the labours of the summer. It happened to be my turn to go thither, the very year that Long-Island was taken by the British. A great company of hop-merchants and farmers were just sitting down to supper as the post arrived, bringing in the Extraordinary Gazette, which announced the victory. A hop-factor from London took the paper, placed his chair upon the table, and began to read with an audible voice. He was opposed, a dispute ensued, and my father retired, taking me by the hand, to another apartment, where we supped with about a dozen others of the same sentiments. Here Washington's health, and success to the Americans, were repeatedly toasted, and this was the first time, as far as I can recollect, that I ever heard the General's name mentioned. Little did I then dream, that I should ever see the man, and still less, that I should hear
some

some of his own countrymen reviling and execrating him.

Let not the reader imagine, that I wish to assume any merit from this mistaken prejudice of an honoured and beloved parent. Whether he was right or wrong, is not now worth talking about : that I had no opinion of my own is certain ; for, had my father been on the other side, I should have been on the other side too ; and should have looked upon the company I then made a part of as malcontents and rebels. I mention these circumstances, merely to show that I was not “nursed in the lap of aristocracy,” and that I did not imbibe my principles, or prejudices, from those who were the advocates of blind submission. If my father had any fault, it was not being submissive enough, and I am much afraid, my acquaintance have but too often discovered the same fault in his son.

It would be as useless as unentertaining, to dwell on the occupations and sports of a country boy ; to lead the reader to fairs, cricket-matches, and hare-hunts. I shall therefore come at once to the epoch, when an accident happened, that gave that turn to my future life, which at last brought me to the United States.

† Towards the autumn of 1782, I went to visit a relation who lived in the neighbourhood of Portsmouth. From the top of Portsdown, I, for the first time, beheld the sea, and no sooner did I behold it, than I wished to be a sailor. I could never account for this sudden impulse, nor can I now. Almost all English boys feel the same inclination : it would seem that, like young ducks, instinct leads them to rush on the bosom of the water.

But it was not the sea alone that I saw : the grand fleet was riding at anchor at Spithead. I had heard of the wooden walls of Old England : I had

formed my ideas of a ship, and of a fleet; but, what I now beheld, so far surpassed what I had ever been able to form a conception of, that I stood lost between astonishment and admiration. I had heard talk of the glorious deeds of our admirals and sailors, of the defeat of the Spanish Armada, and of all those memorable combats, that good and true Englishmen never fail to relate to their children about a hundred times a year. The brave Rodney's victories over our natural enemies, the French and Spaniards, had long been the theme of our praise, and the burden of our songs. The sight of the fleet brought all these into my mind; in confused order, it is true, but with irresistible force. My heart was inflated with national pride. The sailors were my countrymen; the fleet belonged to my country, and surely I had my part in it, and in all its honours: yet, these honours I had not earned; I took to myself a sort of reproach, for possessing what I had no right to, and resolved to have a just claim by sharing in the hardships and dangers.

I arrived at my uncle's late in the evening, with my mind full of my sea-faring project. Though I had walked thirty miles during the day, and consequently was well wearied, I slept not a moment. It was no sooner day-light, than I arose and walked down towards the old castle, on the beach of Spit-head. For a sixpence given to an invalid, I got permission to go upon the battlements: here I had a closer view of the fleet, and at every look my impatience to be on board increased. In short, I went from the castle to Portsmouth, got into a boat, and was in a few minutes on board the Pegasus man of war.

The Captain had more compassion than is generally met with in men of his profession: he represented to me the toils I must undergo, and the punishment that the least disobedience or neglect would

would subject me to. He persuaded me to return home, and I remember he concluded his advice, with telling me, that it was better to be led to church in a halter, to be tied to a girl that I did not like, than to be tied to the gang-way, or, as the sailors call it, married to *miss roper*. From the conclusion of this wholesome counsel, I perceived, that the captain thought I had eloped on account of a bastard. I blushed, and that confirmed him in his opinion; but I declare to the reader, that I was no more guilty of such an offence, than Mr. Swanwick, or any other gentlemen who is constitutionally virtuous. No; thank heaven, I have none of the Franklintonian crimes to accuse myself of; my children do not hang their hats up in other men's houses; I am neither patriot nor philosopher.

I in vain attempted to convince Captain Berkley, that choice alone had led me to the sea; he sent me on shore, and I at last quitted Portsmouth; but not before I had applied to the Port-Admiral, Evans, to get my name enrolled among those who were destined for the service. I was, in some sort, obliged to acquaint the Admiral with what had passed on board the Pegasus, in consequence of which, my request was refused, and I happily escaped, sorely against my will, from the most toilsome and perilous profession in the world.

I returned once more to the plough, but I was spoiled for a farmer. I had, before my Portsmouth adventure, never known any other ambition than that of surpassing my brothers in the different labours of the field; but it was quite otherwise now; I sighed for a sight of the world; the little island of Britain, seemed too small a compass for me. The things in which I had taken the most delight were neglected; the singing of the birds grew insipid, and even the heart-cheering cry of the hounds, after which I formerly used to fly from

my work, bound o'er the fields, and dash through the brakes and coppices, was heard with the most torpid indifference. Still, however, I remained at home till the following spring, when I quitted it, perhaps, for ever.

It was on the sixth of May 1783, that I, like Don Quixotte, sallied forth to seek adventures. I was dressed in my holiday clothes, in order to accompany two or three lasses to Guildford fair. They were to assemble at a house, about three miles from my home, where I was to attend them; but, unfortunately for me, I had to cross the London turnpike road. The stage-coach had just turned the summit of a hill, and was rattling down towards me at a merry rate. The notion of going to London, never entered my mind, till this very moment, yet the step was completely determined on, before the coach came to the spot where I stood. Up I got, and was in London about nine o'clock in the evening.

It was by mere accident, that I had money enough to defray the expenses of this day. Being rigged out for the fair, I had three or four crown and half-crown pieces, (which most certainly I did not intend to spend), besides a few shillings and half-pence. This, my little all, which I had been years in amassing, melted away, like snow before the sun, when touched by the fingers of the inn-keepers and their waiters. In short, when I arrived at Ludgate-Hill, and had paid my fare, I had but about half a crown in my pocket.

By a commencement of that good luck, which has hitherto attended me, through all the situations in which fortune has placed me, I was preserved from ruin. A gentleman, who was one of the passengers in the stage, fell into conversation with me at dinner, and he soon learnt that I was going, I knew not whither, nor for what. This gentleman

man was a hop-merchant in the borough of Southwark, and, upon closer inquiry, it appeared that he had often dealt with my father at Wey-Hill. He knew the danger I was in ; he was himself a father, and he felt for my parents. His house became my home ; he wrote to my father, and endeavoured to prevail on me to obey his orders, which were to return immediately home. I am ashamed to say that I was disobedient. It was the first time I had ever been so, and I have repented of it from that moment to this. Willingly would I have returned ; but pride would not suffer me to do it. I feared the scoffs of my acquaintances more than the real evils that threatened me.

My generous preserver, finding my obstinacy not to be overcome, began to look out for an employment for me. He was preparing an advertisement for the newspaper, when an acquaintance of his, an attorney, called in to see him. He related my adventure to this gentleman, whose name was Holland, and who, happening to want an understrapping quill-driver, did me the honour to take me into his service, and the next day saw me perched upon a great high stool, in an obscure chamber in Gray's Inn, endeavouring to decipher the crabbed draughts of my employer.

I could write a good plain hand, but I could not read the pot-hooks and hangers of Mr. Holland. He was a month in learning me to copy without almost continual assistance, and even then I was of but little use to him ; for, besides that I wrote a snail's pace, my want of knowledge in orthography, gave him infinite trouble : so that, for the first two months, I was a dead weight upon his hands. Time, however, rendered me useful ; and Mr. Holland was pleased to tell me, that he was very well satisfied with me, just at the very moment when I began to grow extremely dissatisfied with him.

No

No part of my life has been totally unattended with pleasure, except the eight or nine months I passed in Gray's Inn. The office (for so the dungeon where I wrote was called) was so dark, that, on cloudy days, we were obliged to burn candle. I worked like a galley-slave from five in the morning till eight or nine at night, and sometimes all night long. How many quarrels have I assisted to foment and perpetuate between those poor innocent fellows, John Doe and Richard Roe ! How many times (God forgive me !) have I set them to assault each other with guns, swords, staves and pitchforks, and then brought them to answer for their misdeeds before our Sovereign Lord the King seated in His Court of Westminster ! When I think of the *said*s and *soforth*s, and the counts of tautology that I scribbled over ; when I think of those sheets of seventy-two words, and those lines two inches a part, my brain turns. Gracious heaven ! if I am doomed to be wretched, bury me beneath Iceland snows, and let me feed on blubber ; stretch me under the burning line, and deny me thy propitious dew ; nay, if it be thy will, suffocate me with the infected and pestilential air of a democratic club-room ; but save me from the desk of an attorney !

Mr. Holland was but little in the chambers himself. He always went out to dinner, while I was left to be provided for by the *laundress*, as he called her. Those gentlemen of the law, who have resided in the Inns of Court in London, know very well what a *laundress* means. Ours was, I believe, the oldest and ugliest of the sisterhood. She had age and experience enough to be Lady Abbess of all the nuns in all the convents of Irish-Town. It would be wronging the witch of Endor to compare her to this hag, who was the only creature that deigned to enter into conversation with me. All except the name, I was in prison, and this weird
sister

sister was my keeper. Our chambers were, to me, what the subterraneous cavern was to Gil Blas: his description of the Dame Leonarda exactly suited my laundress; nor were the professions, or rather the practice, of our masters altogether dissimilar.

I never quitted this gloomy recess except on Sundays, when I usually took a walk to St. James's Park, to feast my eyes with the sight of the trees, the grass, and the water. In one of these walks I happened to cast my eye on an advertisement, inviting all loyal young men, who had a mind to gain riches and glory, to repair to a certain rendezvous, where they might enter into His Majesty's marine service, and have the peculiar happiness and honour of being enrolled in the Chatham Division. I was not ignorant enough to be the dupe of this morsel of military bombast; but a change was what I wanted: besides, I knew that marines went to sea, and my desire to be on that element had rather increased than diminished by my being penned up in London. In short, I resolved to join this glorious corps; and, to avoid all possibility of being discovered by my friends, I went down to Chatham and enlisted, into the marines as I thought, but the next morning I found myself before a Captain of a marching regiment. There was no retreating: I had taken a shilling to drink his Majesty's health, and his further bounty was ready for my reception.

When I told the Captain (who was an Irishman, and who has since been an excellent friend to me), that I thought myself engaged in the marines: "By Jasus! my lad," said he, "and you have had a narrow escape." He told me, that the regiment into which I had been so happy as to enlist, was one of the oldest and boldest in the whole army, and that it was at that moment serving in that fine, flourishing, and plentiful country, Nova Scotia. He dwelt long on the beauties and riches of this
terrestrial

terrestrial paradise, and dismissed me, perfectly enchanted with the prospect of a voyage thither.

I enlisted early in 1784, and, as peace had then taken place, no great haste was made to send recruits off to their regiments. I remained upwards of a year at Chatham, during which time I was employed in learning my exercise, and taking my tour in the duty of the garrison. My leisure time, which was a very considerable portion of the twenty-four hours, was spent, not in the dissipations common to such a way of life, but in reading and study. In the course of this year I learnt more than I had ever done before. I subscribed to a circulating library at Brompton, the greatest part of the books in which I read more than once over. The library was not very considerable, it is true, nor in my reading was I directed by any degree of taste or choice. Novels, plays, history, poetry, all were read, and nearly with equal avidity.

Such a course of reading could be attended with but little profit: it was skimming over the surface of every thing. One branch of learning, however, I went to the bottom with, and that the most essential branch too, the grammar of my mother tongue. I had experienced the want of a knowledge of grammar during my stay with Mr. Holland; but it is very probable that I never should have thought of encountering the study of it, had not accident placed me under a man whose friendship extended beyond his interest. Writing a fair hand procured me the honour of being copyist to Colonel Debeig, the commandant of the garrison. I transcribed the famous correspondence between him and the Duke of Richmond, which ended in the good and gallant old Colonel being stripped of the reward, bestowed on him for his long and meritorious servitude.

Being

Being totally ignorant of the rules of grammar, I necessarily made many mistakes in copying, because no one can copy letter by letter, nor even word by word. The Colonel saw my deficiency, and strongly recommended study. He enforced his advice with a sort of injunction, and with a promise of reward in case of success.

I procured me a Lowth's grammar, and applied myself to the study of it with unceasing assiduity, and not without some profit; for, though it was a considerable time before I fully comprehended all that I read, still I read and studied with such unremitting attention, that, at last, I could write without falling into any very gross errors. The pains I took cannot be described: I wrote the whole grammar out two or three times; I got it by heart; I repeated it every morning and every evening, and, when on guard, I imposed on myself the task of saying it all over once every time I was posted sentinel. To this exercise of my memory I ascribe the retentiveness of which I have since found it capable, and to the success with which it was attended, I ascribe the perseverance that has led to the acquirement of the little learning of which I am master.

This study was, too, attended with another advantage: it kept me out of mischief. I was always sober, and regular in my attendance; and, not being a clumsy fellow, I met with none of those reproofs, which disgust so many young men with the service.

There is no situation where merit is so sure to meet with reward as in a well-disciplined army. Those who command are obliged to reward it for their own ease and credit. I was soon raised to the rank of corporal; a rank, which, however contemptible it may appear in some people's eyes, brought me in a clear twopence *per diem*, and put a
very

very clever worsted knot upon my shoulder too. Don't you laugh now, Mr. Swanwick; a worsted knot is a much more honourable mark of distinction than a *custom-house badge*; though, I confess, the king must have such people as tide-waiters as well as corporals.

As promotion began to dawn, I grew impatient to get to my regiment, where I expected soon to bask under the rays of royal favour. The happy day of departure at last came: we set sail from Gravesend, and, after a short and pleasant passage, arrived at Halifax in Nova Scotia. When I first beheld the barren, not to say hideous, rocks at the entrance of the harbour, I began to fear that the master of the vessel had mistaken his way; for I could perceive nothing of that fertility that my good recruiting Captain had dwelt on with so much delight.

Nova Scotia had no other charm for me than that of novelty. Every thing I saw was new: bogs, rocks and stumps, musquitoes and bull-frogs. Thousands of captains and colonels without soldiers, and of squires without stockings or shoes. In England, I had never thought of approaching a squire without a most respectful bow: but, in this new world, though I was but a corporal, I often ordered a squire to bring me a glass of grog, and even to take care of my knapsack.

We staid but a few weeks in Nova Scotia, being ordered to St. John's, in the province of New Brunswick. Here, and at other places in the same province, we remained till the month of September, 1791, when the regiment was relieved and sent home.

We landed at Portsmouth on the 3d of November, and on the 19th of the next month I obtained my discharge, after having served not quite eight years, and after having, in that short space, passed
through

through every rank, from that of a private sentinel to that of serjeant major, without ever being once disgraced, confined, or even reprimanded.—But let my superiors speak for me, they will tell my friends and all my readers what I was during my servitude.

“ *By the Right Honourable Major Lord Edward
“ Fitzgerald, commanding his Majesty’s 54th Re-
“ ment of Foot, whereof Lieutenant General Fre-
“ derick is Colonel.*

“ THESE are to certify, that the bearer hereof,
“ WILLIAN COBBETT, Serjeant Major in the
“ aforesaid regiment, has served honestly and faith-
“ fully for the space of eight years, nearly seven of
“ which he has been a non-commissioned officer,
“ and of that time he has been five years Serjeant
“ Major to the regiment; but having very ear-
“ nestly applied for his discharge, he, in conside-
“ ration of his good behaviour, and the services he
“ has rendered the regiment, is hereby discharged.

“ Given under my hand and the seal of the
“ regiment, at Portsmouth, this 19th day
“ of December, 1791.

“ EDWARD FITZGERALD.”

I shall here add the orders, issued in the garrison of Portsmouth on the day of my discharge.

“ Portsmouth, 19th Dec. 1791.

“ Serjeant Major Cobbett having most pressingly
“ applied for his discharge, at Major Lord Ed-
“ ward Fitzgerald’s request, General Frederick
“ has granted it. General Frederick has ordered
“ Major Lord Edward Fitzgerald to return the
“ Serjeant Major thanks for his behaviour and
“ conduct during the time of his being in the re-
“ giment,

"giment, and Major Lord Edward adds his most hearty thanks to those of the General."

After having laid these pieces before my reader, I beg him to recollect what the *Argus* of New-York, and the *Aurora* of Philadelphia, have asserted concerning Peter Porcupine's being flogged in his regiment for thieving, and afterwards deserting. The monstrous, disorganizing, democratic gang were not aware that I was in possession of such uncontrovertible proofs as these.

I hope, I may presume that my character will be looked upon as good, down to the date of my discharge; and, if so, it only remains for me to give an account of myself from that time to this.

The Democrats have asserted, as may be seen in the preface, that I got my living in London by "garret-scribbling," and that I was obliged to take a *French leave* for France, for some "night work."—Now, the fact is, I went to France in March, 1792, and I landed at New York in the month of October following; so that, I had but three months to follow "garret-scribbling" in London. How these three months were employed it is not necessary to say here, but that I had not much leisure for "garret-scribbling" the ladies will be well convinced, when I tell them that I got a wife in the time. As to the charge concerning "night work," I am afraid I must plead guilty, but not with my "fingers," as these malicious fellows would insinuate. No, no, I am no relation to Citizen *Plato*: the French ladies do not call me, the *garçon fendu*.

Before I go any further, it seems necessary to say a word or two about "French leave." Did this expression escape the Democrats in an unwary moment? Why "French leave?" Do they wish to insinuate, that nobody but *Frenchmen* are obliged to fly from the hands of thief-catchers? The Germans,

mans, and after them the English, have applied this degrading expression to the French nation; but, is it not inconsistent, and even ungrateful, for those who are in the interest, and perhaps, in the pay, of that magnanimous republic, to talk about “French leave?” It is something curious that this expression should find a place in a paragraph wherein I am accused of abusing the French. The fact is, the friendship professed by these people, towards the French nation, is all grimace, all hypocrisy: the moment they are off their guard, they let us see that it is the abominable system of French tyranny that they are attached to, and not to the people of that country.—“French leave!” The leave of a *runaway*, a *thief*, a *Tom Paine*! What could the most prejudiced, the bitterest Englishman have said more galling and severe against the whole French nation? They cry out against me for “*abusing*” the cut-throats of Nantz and other places, and for accusing the demagogue-tyrants of robbery; while they themselves treat the whole nation as thieves. This is the democratic way of washing out stains; just as the sweet and cleanly Sheelah washes her gentle Dermot’s face with a dishclout.

Leaving the ingenious citizens to extricate themselves from this hobble, or fall under the displeasure of their masters, I shall return to my adventures.—I arrived in France in March, 1792, and continued there till the beginning of September following, the six happiest months of my life. I should be the most ungrateful monster that ever existed, were I to speak ill of the French people in general. I went to that country full of all those prejudices, that Englishmen suck in with their mother’s milk, against the French and against their religion: a few weeks convinced me that I had been deceived with respect to both. I met every

where with civility, and even hospitality, in a degree that I never had been accustomed to. I found the people, among whom I lived, excepting those who were already blasted with the principles of the accursed revolution, honest, pious, and kind to excess.

People may say what they please about the misery of the French peasantry, under the old government; I have conversed with thousands of them, not ten among whom did not regret the change. I have not room here to go into an inquiry into the causes that have led these people to become the passive instruments, the slaves of a set of tyrants such as the world never saw before, but I venture to predict, that, sooner or later, they will return to that form of government under which they were happy and under which alone they can ever be so again.

My determination to settle in the United States was formed before I went to France, and even before I quitted the army. A desire of seeing a country, so long the theatre of a war of which I had heard and read so much; the flattering picture given of it by Raynal; and, above all, an inclination for seeing the world, led me to this determination. It would look a little like coaxing for me to say, that I had imbibed principles of republicanism, and that I was ambitious to become a citizen of a free state, but this was really the case, I thought that men enjoyed here a greater degree of liberty than in England; and this, if not the principal reason, was at least one, for my coming to this country.

I did intend to stay in France till the spring of 1793, as well to perfect myself in the language, as to pass the winter at Paris; but I perceived the storm gathering; I saw that a war with England was inevitable, and it was not difficult to foresee what would be the fate of Englishmen, in that country,

country, where the rulers had laid aside even the appearance of justice and mercy. I wished, however, to see Paris, and had actually hired a coach to go thither. I was even on the way, when I heard, at Abbeville, that the king was dethroned and his guards murdered. This intelligence made me turn off towards Havre-de-Grace, whence I embarked for America.

I beg leave here to remind the reader, that one of the lying paragraphs, lately published in the lying *Aurora*, states, that I was whipped at Paris, and that hence I bear a grudge against the French Republic. Now, I never was at Paris, as I can prove by the receipts for my board and lodging, from the day I entered France to that of my leaving it; and, as to the Republic, as it is called, I could have no grudge against it; for the tyrants had not given it that name, when I was so happy as to bid it an eternal adieu. Had I remained a few months longer I make no doubt that I should have had reason to execrate it as every other man, woman, and child has, who has had the misfortune to groan under its iron anarchy.

Some little time after my arrival in this country, I sent Mr. Jefferson, then Secretary of State, a letter of recommendation, which I had brought from the American Ambassador at the Hague. The following is a copy of the letter Mr. Jefferson wrote me on that occasion.

“ Philadelphia, Nov. 5th. 1792.

“ Sir.

“ In acknowledging the receipt of your favour
 “ of the 2d instant, I wish it were in my power to
 “ announce to you any way in which I could be
 “ useful to you. Mr. Short’s assurances of your
 “ merit would be a sufficient inducement to me.

“ Public Offices in our government are so few,
“ and of so little value, as to offer no resource to
“ talents. When you shall have been here some
“ small time, you will be able to judge in what way
“ you can set out with the best prospect of suc-
“ cess, and if I can serve you in it, I shall be very
“ ready to do it.

“ I am,

“ Sir,

“ Your very humble servant,

“ TH. JEFFERSON.”

I will just observe on this letter, that it was thankfully received, and that, had I stood in need of Mr. Jefferson's services, I should have applied to him; but as that did not appear likely to be the case, I wrote him a letter some few months afterwards, requesting him to assist a poor man, the bearer of it, and telling him that I should look upon the assistance as given to myself. I dare say he complied with my request, for the person recommended was in deep distress, and a *Frenchman*.

With respect to the authenticity of this letter there can be no doubt. I have shown the original, as well as those of the other documents here transcribed, to more than fifty gentlemen of the city of Philadelphia, and they may, at any time, be seen by any person of credit, who wishes a sight of them. Nor have I confined the perusal of them to those who have the misfortune to be deemed aristocrats. Among persons of distant places, I have shown them to Mr. *Ketletas* of New York, who, I must do him the justice to say, had the candour to express a becoming detestation of the base cut-throat author of the threatening letter sent to Mr. Oldden.

I have

I have now brought myself to the United States, and have enabled the reader to judge of me so far. It remains for me to negative two assertions, which apply to my authoring transactions; the one is, that "Mr. Bradford *put a coat upon my back*;" and the other, that I am, or have been, "in the pay of a British Agent."

In the month of July, 1794, the famous Unitarian Doctor, fellow of the *Royal Society*, London, *citizen* of France, and delegate to the *Grande Convention Nationale* of notorious memory, landed at New-York. His landing was nothing to me, nor to any body else; but, the fulsome and consequential addresses, sent him by the pretended patriots, and his canting replies, at once calculated to flatter the people here, and to degrade his country and mine, was something to me. It was my business, and the business of every man, who thinks that truth ought to be opposed to malice and hypocrisy.

When the *Observations* on the emigration of this "martyr to the cause of liberty," were ready for the press, I did not, at first, offer them to Mr. Bradford. I knew him to retain a rooted hatred against Great Britain, and concluded, that his principles would prevent him from being instrumental in the publication of any thing that tended to unveil one of its most bitter enemies. I therefore addressed myself to Mr. Carey. This was, to make use of a culinary figure, jumping out of the frying-pan into the fire. Mr. Carey received me as booksellers generally receive authors (I mean authors whom they hope to get but little by): he looked at the title, from top to bottom, and then at me, from head to foot.—"No, *my lad*," says he, "I don't think it will suit."—*My lad!*—God in heaven forgive me! I believe that, at that moment, I wished for another yellow fever to strike the city;

not to destroy the inhabitants, but to furnish me too, with *the subject of a pamphlet*, that might make me rich.—Mr. Carey has sold hundreds of the *Observations* since that time, and therefore, I dare say, he highly approved of them, when he came to a perusal. At any rate, I must not forget to say, that he behaved honourably in the business; for, he promised not to make known the author, and he certainly kept his word, or the discovery would not have been reserved for the month of June, 1796. This circumstance, considering Mr. Carey's politics, is greatly to his honour, and has almost wiped from my memory, that contumelious "*my lad*."

From Mr. Carey, I went to Mr. Bradford, and left the pamphlet for his perusal. The next day, I went to him, to know his determination. He hesitated, wanted to know if I could not make it a little *more popular*, adding that, unless I could, he feared that the publishing of it would endanger *his windows*. *More popular*, I could not make it. I never was of an accommodating disposition in my life. The only alteration I would consent to, was in the title. I had given the pamphlet the double title of "*The Tartuffe Detected; or, Observations, &c.*" The former was suppressed, though, had I not been pretty certain that every press in the city was as little free, as that to which I was sending it, the *Tartuffe Detected*, should have remained; for the person on whom it was bestowed, merited it much better than the character so named by Molière.

These difficulties, and these fears of the bookseller, at once opened my eyes with respect to the boasted liberty of the press. Because the laws of this country proclaim to the world, that every man may write and publish freely; and because I saw the newspapers filled with vaunts on the subject, I was fool enough to imagine, that the press was
really

really free for every one. I had not the least idea, that a man's windows were in danger of being broken, if he published any thing that was *not popular*. I did, indeed, see the words *liberty* and *equality*; the *rights of man*, the *crimes of kings*, and such like, in most of the bookseller's windows; but I did not know that they were put there to save the glass, as a free republican Frenchman puts a cockade tricolor in his hat, to save his head. I was ignorant of all these *arcana* of the liberty of the press.

If it had so happened, that one of the Whiskey-Boys had went over to England, and had received addresses from any part of the people there, congratulating him on his escape, from a nation of ruffians, and beseeching the Lord, that those ruffians might "tread back the paths of *infamy* and "*ruin*;" and if this emigrating "*Martyr*" in the cause of Whiskey, had echoed back the hypocritical cant; and if he and all his palavering addressers had been detected and exposed by some good American in London, would not such an American have received the applause of all men of virtue and sense? And what would, or rather what would not have been said here against the prostituted press of Great Britain, had an English bookseller testified his fears to publish the truth, lest his windows should be dashed in?

The work that it was feared would draw down punishment on the publisher, did not contain one untruth, one anarchical, indecent, immoral, or irreligious expression; and yet the bookseller feared for his windows! For what? Because it was not *popular enough*. A bookseller, in a *despotic* state, fears to publish a work that is *too popular*; and one in a *free* state, fears to publish a work that is not *popular enough*. I leave it to the learned philosophers of the "Age of Reason," to determine in

which of these states there is the most liberty of the press ; for, I must acknowledge, the point is too nice for me : fear is fear, whether inspired by a Sovereign Lord the King, or by a Sovereign People.

I shall be told, that Mr. Bradford's fears were groundless. It may be so ; but he ought to be a competent judge of the matter ; he must know the extent of the liberty of the press, better than I could. He might be mistaken ; but that he was sincere, appeared clearly from his not putting his name at the bottom of the title page. Even the *Bone to Gnaw for the Democrats*, which did not appear till about six months afterwards, was "Published for the Purchasers." It was not till long after the public had fixed the seal of approbation on these pamphlets, that they were honoured with the bookseller's name. It was something curious, that the second and third, and fourth editions should be entitled to a mark of respect, that the first was not worthy of. Poor little innocents ! They were thrown on the parish like foundlings ; no soul would own them, till it was found that they possessed the gift of bringing in the pence. Another singularity is, they got into better paper as they advanced. So the prudent matron changes the little dirty ragged wench into a fine mademoiselle, as soon as she perceives that the beaux begin to cast their eyes on her.

But, it is time to return, and give the reader an account of my gains. The pecuniary concerns of an author, are always the most interesting.

The terms on which Mr. Bradford took the *Observations*, were what booksellers call *publishing it together*. I beg the reader, if he foresees the possibility of his becoming author, to recollect this phrase well. *Publishing it together*, is thus managed : the bookseller takes the work, prints it, and defrays

defrays all expenses of paper, binding, &c. and the profits, if any, are divided between him and the author.—Long after the *Observations* were sold off, Mr. Bradford rendered me an account (undoubtedly a very just one) of the sales. According to this account, my share of the profits (my share only) amounted to the sum of *one shilling and seven-pence half-penny*, currency of the state of Pennsylvania, (or, about eleven-pence three farthings sterling) quite entirely clear of all deductions whatsoever!

Now, bulky as this sum appears in words at length, I presume, that when 1s. $7\frac{1}{2}$ is reduced to figures, no one will suppose it sufficient to put a coat upon my back. If my poor back were not too broad to be clothed with such a sum as this, God knows how I should bear all that has been, and is, and is to be, laid on it by the unmerciful democrats. Why! 1s. $7\frac{1}{2}$ would not cover the back of a Lilliputian! no, not even in rags, as they sell here.

Besides, this clothing story will at once fall to the ground, when I assure the reader (and Mr. Carey will bear witness to the truth of what I say), that, when I offered this work for publication, I had as good a coat upon my back, as ever Mr. Bradford, or any of his brother booksellers, put on in their lives; and, what is more, this coat was my own. No tailor nor shoemaker ever had my name in his books.

After the *Observations*, Mr. Bradford and I published it together no longer. When a pamphlet was ready for the press, we made a bargain for it, and I took his note of hand, payable in one, two, or three months. That the public may know exactly what gains I have derived from the publications that issued from Mr. Bradford's, I here subjoin a list of them, and the sums received in payment.

Dols,

	Dols.	Cents.
Observations	0	21
Bone to Gnaw, 1st Part .	125	0
Kick for a Bite	20	0
Bone to Gnaw, 2d Part .	40	0
Plain English	100	0
New Year's Gift	100	0
Prospect	18	0
	<hr/>	<hr/>
Total	403	21
	<hr/>	<hr/>

The best way of giving the reader an idea of the generosity of my bookseller is, to tell him, that, upon my going into business for myself, I offered to purchase the copy-rights of these pamphlets at the same price that I had sold them at. Mr. Bradford's refusing to sell, is a clear proof that they were worth more than he gave me, even after they had passed through several editions. Let it not be said, then, that he put a coat upon my back.

My concerns with Mr. Bradford, closed with *The Prospect from the Congress Gallery*, and, as our separation has given rise to conjectures and reports, I shall trouble the reader with an explanation of the matter.

I proposed making a mere collection of the debates, with here and there a note, by way of remarks. It was not my intention to publish it in Numbers, but at the end of the session, in one volume; but Mr. Bradford, fearing a want of success in this form, determined on publishing in Numbers. This was without my approbation, as was also a subscription that was opened for the support of the work. When about half a Number was finished, I was informed that many gentlemen had expressed their desire, that the work might contain a good deal of original matter, and few debates.

In

In consequence of this, I was requested to alter my plan ; I said I would, but that I would by no means undertake to continue the work.

The first Number, as it was called (but not by me), was published, and its success led Mr. Bradford to press for a continuation. His son offered me, I believe, a hundred dollars a Number, in place of eighteen ; and, I should have accepted his offer, had it not been for a word that escaped him during the conversation. He observed, that their customers would be much disappointed ; for that, his *father had promised* a continuation, and *that it should be made very interesting*. This slip of the tongue, opened my eyes at once. What ! a bookseller undertake to promise that I should write, and that I should write to please his customers too ! No ; if all his *customers*, if all the Congress, with the President at their head, had come and solicited me ; nay, had my life depended on a compliance, I would not have written another line.

I was fully employed at this time, having a translation on my hands for Mr. Moreau de St. Mery, as well as another work which took up a great deal of my time ; so that, I believe, I should not have published the *Censor*, had it not been to convince the *customers* of Mr. Bradford, that I was not in his pay ; that I was not the puppet, and he the show-man. That, whatever merits or demerits my writings might have, no part of them fell to his share.

When Mr. Bradford found I was preparing to publish a continuation of the remarks on the debates, he sent me the following note :

“ Sir,

“ Sir,

“ Send me your account, and a receipt for the
“ last publication, and your money shall be sent
“ you by

“ Yours, &c.

“ THO. BRADFORD.”

“ Phila. April 22, 1796.”

To this I returned, for answer.

“ Philadelphia, 22d March, 1796.

“ Sir,

“ I have the honour to possess your laconic
“ note ; but, upon my word, I do not understand
“ it. The requesting of a receipt from a person,
“ before any tender of money is made, and the note
“ being dated in April, in place of March ; these
“ things throw such an obscurity over the whole,
“ that I defer complying with its contents, till I
“ have the pleasure of seeing yourself.

“ I am

“ Your most obedient

“ Humble servant,

“ WM. COBBETT.”

This brought me a second note, in these words :

“ Sir,

“ Finding you mean to pursue the *Prospect*,
“ which you sold to me, I now make a demand of
“ the *fulfillment* of your contract, and if honour
“ does not prompt you to *fulfill* your engagements,
“ you may rely on an *application* to the laws of my
“ country, and make no doubt, I shall there meet
“ you on such grounds as will convince you I am
“ not to be trifled with.

“ I am

“ Yours, &c.

“ THO. BRADFORD.”

“ March 22, 1796.”

Here

Here ended the correspondence, except that it might be said to be continued for about five minutes longer by the hearty laugh, that I bestowed on this *correct* and polite billet.

It is something truly singular, that Mr. Bradford should threaten me with a prosecution for not writing, just at the moment that others threatened me with a prosecution for writing. It seemed a little difficult to set both at open defiance, yet this was done, by continuing to write, and by employing another bookseller.

Indeed, these booksellers in general, are a cruel race. They imagine that the soul and body of every author that falls into their hands, is their exclusive property. They have adopted the bird-catcher's maxim: "a bird that can sing, and wont sing, ought to be made sing." Whenever their devils are out of employment, the drudging goblin of an author, must sharpen up his pen, and never think of repose, till he is relieved by the arrival of a more profitable job. Then the wretch may remain as undisturbed as a sleep-mouse in winter, while the stupid dolt whom he has clad and fattened, receives the applause.

I now come to the assertion, that I am, or have been, in the pay of the British government.

In the first place, the democrats swear, that I have been "frequently visited by a certain Agent," meaning I suppose, Mr. Bond: to this I answer, that it is an abominable lie. I never saw Mr. Bond but three times in my life, and then I had business with him, as the interpreter of Frenchmen, who wanted certificates from him, in order to secure their property in the conquered colonies. I never in my life spoke to, corresponded with, or even saw, to my knowledge, either of the British Ministers, or any one of their retinue. Mr. Bradford once told me, that Mr. Allen, the father-in-law of Mr.

Mr. Hammond, said he was acquainted with me. If this gentleman did really say so, he joked ; for he never saw me in his life, that I know of.

A little while after the New Year's Gift was published, an attack was made in the *Argus* of New York, on the supposed author of it ; in consequence of which, this supposed author, or some one in his behalf, took occasion to observe in Mr. Claypoole's paper, that it was uncandid to attribute to a gentleman of irreproachable character, what was well known to be the work of a democrat. I had a great mind to say, at that time, what I shall now say ; and that is, that let this gentleman be who he will, I think myself as good as he, and of as good a character too ; and that, as to the dishonour attached to the publication, I am willing to take it all to myself.

It is hard to prove a negative ; it is what no man is expected to do ; yet, I think I can prove, that the accusation of my being in British pay, is not supported by one single fact, or the least shadow of probability.

When a foreign government hires a writer, it takes care that his labours shall be distributed, whether the readers are all willing to pay for them or not. This we daily see verified in the distribution of certain blasphemous gazettes, which, though kicked from the door with disdain, flies in at the window. Now, has this ever been the case with the works of Peter Porcupine ? Were they ever thrust upon people in spite of their remonstrances ? Can Mr. Bradford say, that thousands of these pamphlets have ever been paid for by any agent of Great Britain ? Can he say, that I have ever distributed any of them ? No ; he can say no such thing. They had, at first, to encounter every difficulty, and they have made their way, supported by public approbation, and by that alone. Mr. Bradford, if
he

he is candid enough to repeat what he told me, will say, that the British Consul, when he purchased half a dozen of them, insisted upon having them *at the wholesale price!* Did this look like a desire to encourage them? Besides, those who know any thing of Mr. Bradford, will never believe, that he would have lent his aid to a British Agent's publications; for, of all the Americans I have yet conversed with, he seems to entertain the greatest degree of rancour against that nation.

I have every reason to believe, that the British Consul was far from approving of some, at least, of my publications. I happened to be in a bookseller's shop, unseen by him, when he had the goodness to say, that I was a "*wild fellow.*" On which I shall only observe, that when the King bestows on me about five hundred pounds sterling a-year, perhaps, I may become a *tame fellow*, and hear my master, my countrymen, my friends, and my parents, belied and execrated, without saying one single word in their defence.

Had the Minister of Great Britain employed me to write, can it be supposed that he would not furnish me with the means of living well, without becoming the retailer of my own works? Can it be supposed, that he would have suffered me ever to appear on the scene? It must be a very poor king that he serves, if he could not afford me more than I can get by keeping a book-shop. An ambassador from a king of the gypsies, could not have acted a meaner part. What! where was all the "gold of Pitt?" That gold which tempted, according to the democrats, an American Envoy to sell his country, and two-thirds of the Senate to ratify the bargain: that gold which, according to the Convention of France, has made one half of that nation cut the throats of the other half; that potent gold could not keep Peter Porcupine from
standing

standing behind a counter, to sell a pen-knife, or a quire of paper !

Must it not be evident, too, that the keeping of a shop would take up a great part of my time ? Time that was hardly worth a paying for at all, if it was not of higher value than the profits on a few pamphlets. Every one knows that the Censor has been delayed, on account of my entering on business ; would the Minister of Great Britain have suffered this, had I been in his pay ? No ; I repeat, that it is downright stupidity to suppose, that he would ever have suffered me to appear at all, had he even felt in the least interested in the fate of my works, or the effect they might produce. He must be sensible, that, seeing the unconquerable prejudices existing in this country, my being known to be an Englishman, would operate weightily against whatever I might advance. I saw this very plainly myself ; but, as I had a living to get, and as I had determined on this line of business, such a consideration was not to awe me into idleness, or make me forego any other advantages that I had reason to hope I should enjoy.

The notion of my being in British pay, arose from my having now-and-then taken upon me, to attempt a defence of the character of that nation, and of the intentions of its government towards the United States. But, have I ever teased my readers with this, except when the subject necessarily demanded it ? And if I have given way to my indignation, when a hypocritical political divine attempted to degrade my country, or when its vile calumniators called it “ an insular Bastile,” what have I done more than every good man in my place would have done ? What have I done more than my duty ; than obeyed the feelings of my heart ? When a man hears his country reviled, does it require

require that he should be paid for speaking in its defence?

Besides, had my works been intended to introduce British influence, they would have assumed a more conciliating tone. The author would have flattered the people of this country, even in their excesses; he would have endeavoured to gain over the enemies of Britain by smooth and soothing language; he would have "stooped to conquer;" he would not, as I have done, rendered them hatred for hatred, and scorn for scorn.

My writings, the first pamphlet excepted, have had no other object than that of keeping alive an attachment to the constitution of the United States, and the inestimable man who is at the head of the government, and to paint in their true colours those who are the enemies of both; to warn the people, of all ranks and descriptions, of the danger of admitting among them the anarchical and blasphemous principles of the French revolutionists, principles as opposite to those of liberty as hell is to heaven. If, therefore, I have written at the instance of a British agent, that agent must most certainly deserve the thanks of all the real friends of America. But, say some of the half democrats, what right have you to meddle with the defence of our government at all?—The same right that you have to exact my obedience to it, and my contribution towards its support. Several Englishmen, not so long in the country as I had been, served in the militia against the western rebels, and, had I been called on, I must have served too. Surely a man has a right to defend with his pen, that which he may be compelled to defend with a musquet.

As to the real, bloody, cut-throats, they carry their notion of excluding me from the use of the press still further. "While," says one of them,

“ while I am a friend to the *unlimited* freedom of
 “ the press, when exercised by *an American*, I am
 “ an implacable foe to its prostitution to a *foreigner*,
 “ and would at any time assist in hunting out of
 “ society, any meddling foreigner who should dare
 “ to interfere in our politics. I hope the apathy
 “ of our *brethren* of Philadelphia will no longer be
 “ indulged, and that an exemplary *vengeance* will
 “ soon burst upon the head of such a presumptuous
 “ fellow.—*Justice, honour, national gratitude*, all
 “ call for it.—May it no longer be delayed.
 “ *An American.*”

Are not you, Mr. Swanwick, the President of the Emigration Society? Well, then, Sir, as your institution is said to be for the information of persons emigrating from foreign countries, be so good as to insert the little extract, above quoted, in your next dispatches for a cargo of emigrants. Above all, Sir, be sure to tell those who are disposed to emigrate from England, those martyrs in the cause of liberty; be sure to tell them that this is the land of *equal* liberty; that here, and here alone, they will find the true unlimited freedom of the press, but that, if they dare to make use of it, “ *justice, honour, national gratitude*, will call for exemplary “ *vengeance* on their heads.”

I should not have noticed this distinction between *foreigners* and *Americans*, had I not perceived, that several persons, who are, generally speaking, friends to their country, seem to think that it was impertinent in me to meddle with the politics here, because I was an Englishman. I would have these good people to recollect, that the laws of this country hold out to foreigners an offer of all that liberty of the press which Americans enjoy, and that, if this liberty be abridged, by whatever means it may be done, the laws and the constitution, and all together,

gether, is a mere cheat ; a snare to catch the credulous and enthusiastic of every other nation ; a downright imposition on the world. If people who emigrate hither have not a right to make use of the liberty of the press, while the natives have, it is very ill done to call this a country of *equal* liberty. *Equal*, above all epithets, is the most improper that can be applied to it ; for, if none but Americans have access to the press, they are their masters, and foreigners are their subjects, nay their slaves. An honourable and comfortable situation, upon my word ! The emigrants from some countries may be content with it, perhaps : I would not say, that the “ Martyrs in the cause of liberty ” from England, would not quietly bend beneath the yoke, as, indeed, they are in duty bound to do ; but, for my part, who have not the ambition to aspire to the crown of martyrdom, I must and I will be excused. Either the laws shall be altered, or I will continue to avail myself of the liberty that they held out to me, and that partly tempted me to the country. When an act is passed for excluding Englishmen from exercising their talents, and from promulgating what they write, then will I desist ; but, I hope, when that time arrives, no act will be passed to prevent people from emigrating back again.

Before I conclude, it seems necessary to say a word or two about the miserable shift which the democrats have had recourse to, respecting the infamous letter of *Citizen Hint*. They now pretend, that I fabricated it myself, though I have publicly declared, that it was delivered into my hands by a gentleman of reputation, whose name I have mentioned. Can any one be stupid enough to imagine, that I would, particularly at this time, have run the risk of being detected in such a shameful business ? And, how could it have been under-

taken without running that risk? Had I written it myself, there would have been my hand-writing against me, and had I employed another, that other might have betrayed me; he might have ruined me in the opinion of all those, whom it is my interest as well as my pride to be esteemed by; or, at best, I should have been at his mercy for ever afterwards.

Besides the great risk of detection, let any one point out, if he can, what end I could propose to myself by such a device. As to making my shop and myself known, I presume I did not stand in need of a Scare-Crow, to effect that, when the kind democrats themselves had published to the whole Union, that I had taken the house in which I live, for the purpose of retailing my "poison," as they called it, and had even had the candour to tell the world, that I had paid my rent in advance*. They

* It was to Mr. Franklin Bache's creditable and incorruptible Gazette, that I was indebted for this volunteer advertisement. This was generous in a declared foe; but those will not be astonished at the editor's candour and *tolerating principles*, who are acquainted with the following anecdote.

From the European Magazine, for September 1795, page 156.

"When Voltaire arrived at Paris, an interview took place between him and Franklin. After the first compliments, which by the way were more adulative than comported with the character of an American, and above all of a stern Republican, the Doctor presented his grandson to Voltaire, in soliciting him for his *blessing*. The philosopher of impiety relished the pleasantry; and to render the farce complete, he rose from his chair, and with a patriarchal air, laid his hands on the head of the *child*, and solemnly pronounced, in a loud voice, these three words: *God, Liberty, and Tolerance*. All the pious were shocked at the American, who, they said, burlesqued Religion in asking the *blessing* of Voltaire"

affect

affect to believe, sometimes, that the letter was a mere trick to bring in the pence, and, in one of their latest paragraphs, they call me a “catch-penny author.” But, let them recollect, that I am now a bookseller, whose trade it is to get money; and if I am driven to such shifts as the Scarecrow, to get a living, let them reconcile this circumstance with their assertions concerning my being liberally paid by Great Britain. A man in British pay, rolling in “the gold of Pitt,” could certainly never be so reduced as to venture every thing for the sake of collecting a few eleven-penny bits. It is the misfortune of the democrats ever to furnish arguments against themselves.

Those who reason upon the improbability of the democrats sending the threatening letter, do not recollect the extract I have above quoted from the *Aurora*, in which the people of Philadelphia are called upon to murder me, and are told, that “*justice, honour, and national gratitude* demand it.” It is very improbable that men, capable of writing paragraphs like this, should, upon finding the people deaf to their *honourable* insinuations, attempt to intimidate my landlord by a cut-throat letter?

Their great object is to silence me, to this all their endeavours point: lies, threats, spies and informers, every engine of Jacobinical invention is played off. I am sorry to tell them, that it is all in vain, for I am one of those whose obstinacy increases with opposition.

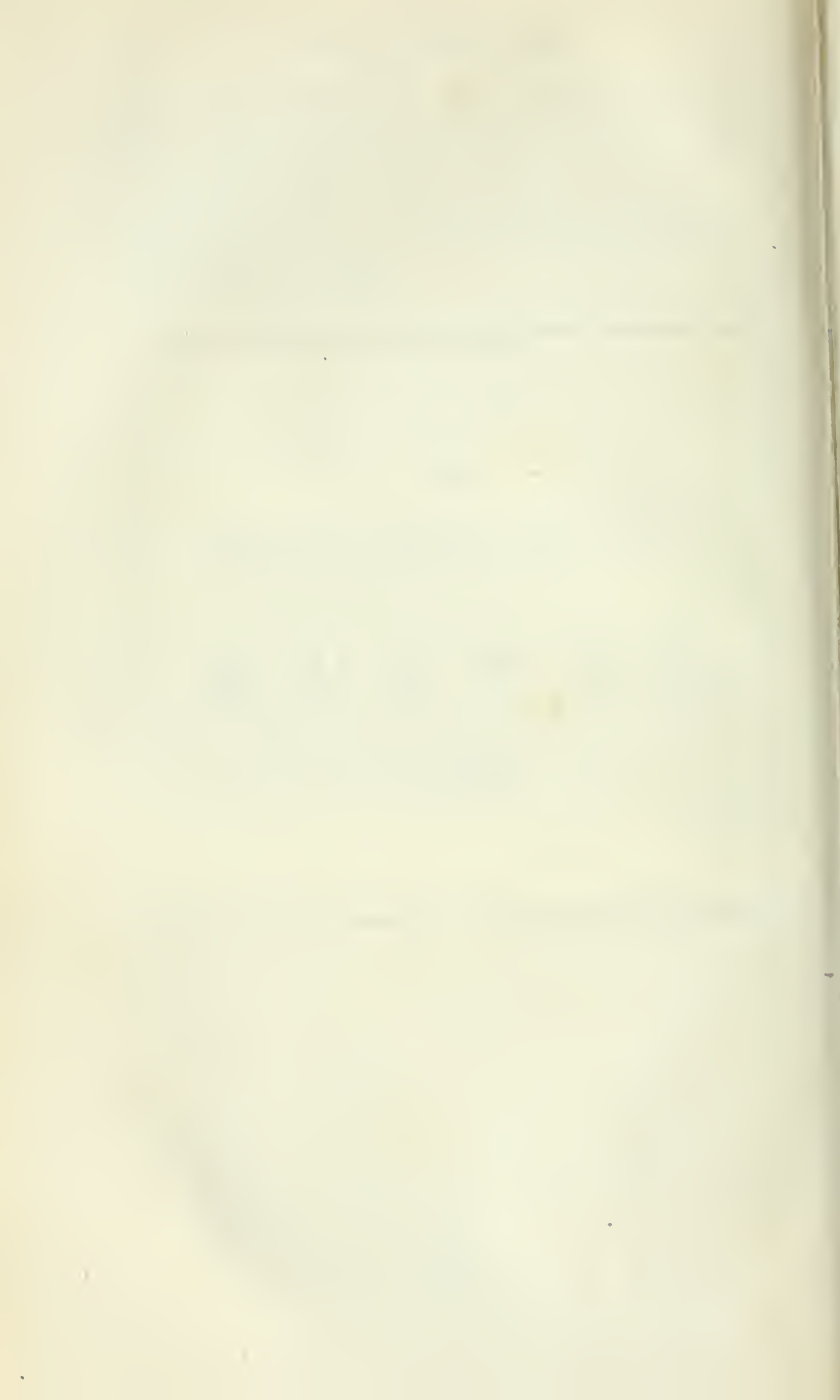
I have now to apologize to my indulgent reader, for having taken up so much of his time with subjects relating chiefly to myself. The task has, to me, been a very disagreeable one; but it was become necessary, as well for the vindication of my own character as for the satisfaction of my friends;

friends; yes, in spite of envy, malice and falsehood, I say, my numerous and respectable friends, who, I trust, will be well pleased to find, that there is nothing in the history of Peter Porcupine to raise a blush for the commendations they have bestowed on his works, or to render them unworthy of their future support.

END OF THE LIFE OF PORCUPINE.

THE
POLITICAL
C E N S O R.

No. V.



L I F E
OF
T H O M A S P A I N E,

INTERSPERSED WITH REMARKS AND REFLECTIONS.

"A Life that's one continu'd scene
"Of all that's infamous and mean,"

CHURCHILL.

BIOGRAPHICAL memoirs of persons, famous for the great good or the great mischief they have done, are so sure to meet with a favourable reception in print, that it has long been subject of astonishment, that none of the disciples of Paine should ever have thought of obliging the world with an account of his life. His being of mean birth could form no reasonable objection: when the life of his hero is spotless, the biographer feels a pride as well as a pleasure in tracing him from the penurious shed to the pinnacle of renown. Besides, those from whom we might have expected the history of Old Common Sense, are professed admirers of all that is of low and even base extraction. They are continually boasting of the superior virtues of their "democratic floor," as they call it; it, therefore, seems wonderful, that they should have neglected giving an instance of this superiority in the life of their *virtuous* leader.

This unaccountable negligence of Paine's friends has, in some measure, been compensated by the diligence of the friends of order and religion. His
life

life was published in London, in 1793 ; but, like most other works calculated to stem the torrent of popular prejudice, it has never found admittance into the American press. I am afraid it will be a lasting reproach on those, into whose hands this press has fallen, that while thousands upon thousands of that blasphemous work, "the Age of Reason," were struck off, the instant it arrived in the country, not a single copy of the life and crimes of the blasphemer, so fit to counteract his diabolical efforts, was printed in the whole Union.

This little pamphlet has, at last, fallen into my hands, and were I to delay communicating it to the public, I should be unworthy of that liberty of the press, which, in spite of lying pamphlets and threatening letters, I am determined to enjoy, while I have types and paper at my command.

The reader must observe that this account of Paine's Life, is an abstract of his life, a larger work, written by *Francis Oldys*, A. M. of the University of Pennsylvania, and published by Mr. Stockdale of London. The following extract is taken from the London Review of the work.—“ A more cogent reason cannot be given for this publication, than that which is assigned by the writer of Mr. Paine's Life, in the following short exordium.—*It has been established by the reiterated suffrage of mankind, that the lives of those persons, who have either performed useful actions, or neglected essential duties, ought to be recounted, as much for an example to the present age, as for the instruction of future times.*—THOMAS PAIN* (proceed the Reviewers)

* “ In a note we are informed by Mr. *Oldys*, that this is the real name; and that his fictitious name is *Paine* with a final *e*; for that his father's name was *Pain*; his own name was *Pain* when he married, when he corresponded with the *excise*, and when he first appeared in America. But finding some

“ Reviewers) is placed precisely in this predica-
 “ ment. His actions have stamped him a public
 “ character, and from his public conduct much use-
 “ ful information and instruction may be derived.
 “ In his transactions as a private individual, we
 “ find the records of villainy in various shapes,
 “ not imposing upon mankind under any impene-
 “ trable mask, or close-wrought veil, but, almost
 “ from the beginning, openly and avowedly prac-
 “ tised in the broad face of day, The facts on which
 “ he stands convicted by his Biographer are not
 “ lightly stated, but are supported by authentic do-
 “ cuments and substantiated by evidence.”

I shall detain the reader here but a moment, to observe, that these Reviewers were, and are, the partizans of Paine, rather than otherwise; and that, in many parts of their review, they have attempted to palliate his crimes.

‘ The following abstract of the Life of *Paine*.
 ‘ by Mr. *Oldys* of *Philadelphia*, will perhaps be
 ‘ acceptable to the world; as every fact in it is,
 ‘ by the confession of Paine himself, of his friends,
 ‘ and of his enemies, undeniably authentic.’*

‘ THOMAS PAINE was born at Thetford, in the
 ‘ county of Norfolk (in England), on the 29th of
 ‘ January, 1736-7. His father was Joseph Pain,
 ‘ a staymaker by trade, and of the sect of the
 ‘ Quakers. His mother, Frances Cocke, daughter

“ some inconvenience in his real name, or seeing some advan-
 “ tage in a fictitious one, he thus changed the name of his
 “ family; and he thus exercised a freedom which *the great* en-
 “ joy for honourable ends.”

* That part of this essay which the reader finds thus marked with inverted commas, is taken from the printed copy. The rest, whether good or bad, whether republican or antirepublican, I am ready to take upon myself.

‘ of

‘ of an attorney at Thetford, and of the established Church.’

‘ By some accident, probably arising from the disagreement of his parents in their religious sentiments, the son was never baptized. He was, however, confirmed at the usual age, by the Bishop of Norwich, through the care of his aunt, Mistress Cocke.’

‘ At the free-school of Thetford, under Mr. Knowles, young Paine was instructed in reading, writing, and arithmetic. The expense of his education was defrayed by his father, with some assistance from his mother’s relations.—At the age of thirteen, he became his father’s apprentice, in the trade of a staymaker. At this employment he continued for five years; although he, himself, forgetful or regardless of the truth, has, in the second part of his *Rights of Man*, related, that he entered, at the age of sixteen, on board the *Terrible* privateer, Captain Death; which was not fitted out till some years afterwards.’

‘ He went, at the age of nineteen, to try his fortune in London; where he worked for some time with Mr. *Morris*, an eminent staymaker in Hanover-street, Long-Acre.—After a very short stay in this situation, he repaired to Dover; and there obtained employment with Mr. *Grace*, a respectable staymaker. While Paine remained here, an attachment began between him and Miss Grace, his master’s daughter: in consequence of which, Mr. Grace was induced to lend our adventurer ten pounds. to enable him to settle as a master-staymaker at Sandwich.’

‘ He settled at Sandwich in April, 1759; but forgot to repay the ten pounds, or to fulfil the marriage, in expectation of which the money had been advanced to him.—Here, it seems, he took

‘ up

‘ up his lodging in the market place ; and formed
‘ a little congregation, to whom he preached, in his
‘ lodging, as *an independent minister*.

‘ In the mean time, he fell in love with a pretty,
‘ modest, young woman, *Mary Lambert*, daughter
‘ of James Lambert ; who, with his wife Mary, had
‘ come to *Sittingbourne* as an exciseman, before the
‘ year 1736 ; but, having been dismissed for mis-
‘ conduct, had opened a shop, and acted, besides,
‘ as bum-bailiff of *Sittingbourne*. Both father and
‘ mother were by this time dead, in indigent cir-
‘ cumstances ; and the daughter was now waiting-
‘ woman to Mrs. Solly, wife of Richard Solly, an
‘ eminent woollen-draper at Sandwich.—Mary
‘ Lambert and Thomas Paine were married on the
‘ 27th of September, 1759. Although he was on-
‘ ly twenty-two, and she twenty-one years of age,
‘ yet, by the scars of disease, or by the native
‘ harshness of his features, he appeared at the time
‘ of the marriage so much older than she, that
‘ the good women of Sandwich expressed their
‘ astonishment, that *so fine a girl should marry so*
‘ *old a fellow*.’

‘ Thomas, soon after the marriage, finding him-
‘ self somehow disappointed, began to maltreat his
‘ wife. Little more than two months had passed,
‘ when this became visible to the whole town. By
‘ Mrs. Solly’s aid, their poverty was occasionally
‘ relieved. From the furnished lodging in which
‘ Paine had hitherto lived, the young couple soon
‘ removed to a house, for which they, with some
‘ difficulty, obtained furniture upon credit. But
‘ he having contracted debts which he was unable
‘ to discharge, our adventurer, with his wife, found
‘ themselves obliged to take what is called in Scot-
‘ land, a *moonlight flitting* ; and, on the night, be-
‘ tween the seventh and eighth of April, 1760, they
‘ set out from Sandwich to Margate ; Thomas car-
rying

‘ rying with him the furniture which he had purchased on credit, a stove belonging to his house, and the stays of a customer. The stays were recovered from him by a timeful claim. He sold the furniture by auction at Margate.—The sale of goods obtained upon credit on a false pretext, is a crime that was formerly punished by exposure on the pillory, which has since been changed for transportation.’

At this place, the reader will undoubtedly call to mind Paine’s vehement sallies against the English penal code. All the *patriots* look upon law-givers, judges, juries, and the whole suite of justice, as their mortal enemies. “Inhuman wretches,” says Tom, “that are leagued together to rob man of his Rights, and with them of his existence.” This is like the thief, who, when about to receive sentence of death, protested he would swear the peace against the judge, for that he verily believed he had a design upon his life.—Reader, while you live suspect those tender-hearted fellows who shudder at the name of the gallows. When you hear a man loud against the severity of the laws, set him down for a rogue.

‘ From Margate, Paine returned to London. His wife set out with him: but her subsequent fate is not well known. Some say that she perished on the road, by ill usage and a premature birth: others, in consequence of diligent inquiry, believe her to be still alive; although the obscurity of her retreat prevents ready discovery.’

Now, who that reads this, does not feel a desire to kick the scoundrel of a staymaker, for exclaiming against aristocracy, because as he pretends its laws and customs are cruel and unnatural?—“With what kind of parental reflections,” says the hypocrite in his Rights of Man, “can the father and mother contemplate their tender offspring?”

“ spring?—To restore parents to their children,
 “ and children to their parents, relations to each
 “ other, and man to society, the French Constitu-
 “ tion has destroyed the law of primogenitureship.”

—Is not this fine cant to entrap the unsuspecting vulgar? Who would not imagine that the soul which pours itself forth in joy for the restoration of all these dear relatives to each other, was made up of constancy and tenderness? Who would suspect the man whose benevolence is thus extended to foreigners, whom he never saw, of being a brutal and savage husband, and an unnatural father?—Do you ask, “ with what kind of parental reflections the father and mother can contemplate their tender offspring?”—Hypocritical monster! with what kind of reflections did you contemplate the last agonies of a poor, weak, credulous woman, who had braved the scoffs of the world, who had abandoned every thing for your sake, had put her all in your possession, and who looked up to you, and you alone, for support?

Paine’s humanity, like that of all the reforming philosophers of the present enlightened day, is of the speculative kind. It never breaks out into action. Hear these people, and you would think them overflowing with the milk of human kindness. They stretch their benevolence to the extremities of the globe: it embraces every living creature—except those who have the misfortune to come in contact with them. They are all citizens of the world: country, and friends and relations are unworthy the attention of men who are occupied in rendering all mankind happy and free.

I ever suspect the sincerity of a man whose discourse abounds in expressions of universal philanthropy. Nothing is easier than for a person of some imagination to raise himself to a swell of sentiment, without the aid of one single feeling of the heart.

heart. Rousseau, for instance, is everlastingly babbling about his *genre humain* (human race) and his “*cœur aimant et tendre*” (tender and loving heart). He writes for the human race, his heart bleeds for the distresses of the human race, and in the midst of all this he sends his unfortunate bastards to the poor-house, the receptacle of misery! Virtuous and tender-hearted and sympathetic Rousseau! Certainly nothing is so disgusting as this, except it be to see the humane and sentimental Sterne wiping away a tear at the sight of a dead jack-ass, while his injured wife and child were pining away their days in a nunnery, and while he was debauching the wife of his friend.*

‘ In July, 1761, Thomas returned, without her, to his father’s house.—Having been unsuccessful in the business of a stay-maker, he was now willing to leave it for the Excise. In the Excise, after fourteen months of study and trials, he was established on the 1st of December 1762, at the age of twenty-five. The kindness of Mr. Cocksedg, recorder of Therford, procured for him this appointment. He was sent, as a supernumerary, first to Grantham; and on the 8th of August 1764, to Alford.—Being detected in some misconduct, he was, on the 27th of August 1765, dismissed from his office.’

‘ In this state of wretchedness and disgrace, he

* Sterne’s writings are most admirably calculated to destroy the morals of the youth of both sexes; but it was reserved for some of the printers in the United States to give those writings the finishing touch. What the lewd author was ashamed to do, they have done for him. They have explained his *double entendres* and *filthy innuendos* by a set of the most bawdy cuts that ever disgraced the pencil.—I was shown a copy of the *Sentimental Journey* in this style at the shop of Citizen Thomas Bradford of Philadelphia, the only place in the city, I believe, where it is to be had.

‘ repaired to London a third time. Here charity
 ‘ supplied him with clothes, money and lodging ;
 ‘ till he was on the 11th of July 1766, restored to
 ‘ the Excise, although not to immediate employ-
 ‘ ment.—For support, in the mean time, he en-
 ‘ gaged himself for a salary of five and twenty
 ‘ pounds a year, in the service of Mr. Noble ; who
 ‘ keeping an academy in Lemon-street, Goodman’s-
 ‘ fields, wanted an usher to teach English, and walk
 ‘ out with the children. He won nobody’s favour
 ‘ in this family : and, at Christmas, left the service
 ‘ of Mr. Noble for that of Mr. Gardner, who
 ‘ then taught a reputable school at Kensington.
 ‘ With Mr. Gardner he continued only three
 ‘ months.—He would now willingly have taken
 ‘ orders ; but being only an English scholar, could
 ‘ not obtain the certificate of his qualifications
 ‘ previously necessary. Being violently moved,
 ‘ however, with the spirit of preaching, he wan-
 ‘ dered about for a while as an itinerant Methodist ;
 ‘ and, as urged by his necessities, or directed by
 ‘ his spirit, preached in Moorfields, and in various
 ‘ populous places in England.’

‘ At length, in March 1768, he again obtained
 ‘ employment in his calling of an Excise-officer ;
 ‘ and was sent in this capacity, to Lewes in Sus-
 ‘ sex.—He was now at the age of thirty-one,
 ‘ ambitious of shining as a *jolly fellow* among his
 ‘ companions ; yet without restraining his sullen
 ‘ overbearing temper ; although to the neglect of
 ‘ his duty as an Exciseman. By his intrepidity in
 ‘ water and on ice, he gained the appellation of
 ‘ *Commodore*. He had gone to live with Mr. Sa-
 ‘ muel Ollive, a tobacconist ; and in his house he
 ‘ continued till that worthy man’s death. Mr.
 ‘ Ollive died in bad circumstances ; leaving a
 ‘ widow, one daughter, and several sons. For
 ‘ some dishonest intermeddling with the effects of
 ‘ his

‘ his deceased landlord, Paine was turned out of
 ‘ the house by Mr. Attersol, the executor. But,
 ‘ being more favourably regarded by the widow
 ‘ and daughter, he was received again by them in
 ‘ 1770. He soon after commenced grocer; open-
 ‘ ing Ollive’s shop in his own name. He, at the
 ‘ same time worked the tobacco mill on his own
 ‘ behalf; and, regardless of the regulations of the
 ‘ Excise, and of his duty as an Excise-officer, for
 ‘ several years continued this trade, engaging with-
 ‘ out scruple in smuggling practices, in order to
 ‘ render it lucrative.’

‘ In 1771, at the age of thirty-four, he again
 ‘ ventured on matrimony. Elizabeth Ollive, the
 ‘ daughter of his late landlord, whom he now mar-
 ‘ ried, was a handsome and worthy woman, eleven
 ‘ years younger than himself; and, had it not been
 ‘ for her unfortunate attachment to him, might
 ‘ have married to much greater advantage.—Upon
 ‘ the occasion of this second marriage, Thomas
 ‘ Paine thought proper to represent himself as a
 ‘ batchelor, although he must have known that he
 ‘ was either a widower,—or, indeed, if his former
 ‘ wife was then alive, a married man;—and al-
 ‘ though the marriage act has declared it to be felo-
 ‘ ny, without benefit of clergy, for a person thus
 ‘ wilfully to make a false entry on the register.—
 ‘ In the same year, Paine first commenced author.
 ‘ —*Rumbold*, candidate for New-Shoreham, requir-
 ‘ ed a song to celebrate the patriotism and the con-
 ‘ viviality of the occasion. Paine produced one,
 ‘ which was accepted, and rewarded with three gui-
 ‘ neas.—His poetical honours he seems to have af-
 ‘ terwards forgotten; for, in 1779, he asserted in
 ‘ the news-papers, that, till the appearance of his
 ‘ *Common Sense*, he had never published a sylla-
 ‘ ble.’

‘ By

‘ By a certain boldness and bustle of character, although without the recommendation of honesty, he had become a sort of chief among the Excisemen. They began about this time to be dissatisfied, that their salaries were not augmented with the increase of the national wealth, of the public revenue, and of the price of the necessaries of life. Citizen Paine undertook to write their *Case*; and, in 1772, produced an octavo pamphlet of one and twenty pages, containing an *Introduction: The State of the Salary of the Officers of Excise; and Thoughts on the Corruption arising from the Poverty of Excise-Officers*. Of this pamphlet four thousand copies were printed. A contribution was made by the Excisemen, to supply the expenses attending the solicitation of their case. Paine bustled about, as their agent, in London, in the winter of 1773. But nothing was done; and although liberally paid by his employers, he forgot to pay his printer.’

‘ In his attention to the common cause of the Excisemen, he had neglected his own private affairs. His credit failed. He sunk into difficulties and distress: and in this situation, made a bill of sale of his whole effects to Mr. Whitfield, a considerable grocer at Lewes, and his principal creditor. Mr. Whitfield, seeing no prospect of payment, took possession of the premises, and, in April 1774, disposed of them as his own. The other creditors thinking themselves outwitted by Whitfield, and cheated by Paine, had recourse to the rigours of law. Paine sought concealment for a time in the cock-loft of the Whitehorse-inn.’

‘ About the same time, he was again dismissed from the Excise. His carelessness of the duties of his office—dealing as a grocer in exciseable articles—buying smuggled tobacco, as a grinder

‘ of snuff—and conniving at others for the concealment of it himself—could no longer be overlooked or excused. His dismissal took place on the 8th of April, 1774. He petitioned to be restored, but without success.’

Reader, how often have I observed, that disappointment, and refusal of favours asked from government, are the great sources of what is now-a-days called patriotism? Here we are arrived at the cause of Tom Paine’s mortal enemy to the British government. Had his humble petition been granted; had he been restored to his office, he might, and undoubtedly would have stigmatized the Americans as rebels and traitors. He would have probably been among the supplest tools of Lord North, instead of being the champion of American Independence.

Who, after reading this, will believe that he was actuated by laudable motives, when he wrote against taxation; when he called the Excise a hell-born monster? He long was, you see, an advocate for this hell-born monster, and even one of its choice ministers, and such would he have been to this day, had not his *petition* been rejected. What, Thomas! Petition to be one of the under-devils of a hell-born monster!

Whatever may be the services which his vindictive pen rendered to the cause of the United States, the people of this country owe him no tribute of gratitude, any more than they do to the pretended friendship of the French court, or nation. Both had the same objects in view: the furthering of their interests and glutting of their revenge. They looked upon the revolted colonists as their tools, and if America profited by their interference, it was owing to the wisdom of her councils, and not to their good-will.

When

When patriot Tom began his career in America, it was assuredly very necessary for him to assert, that, till the appearance of his *Common Sense*, he had never published a single syllable ; for, it would have looked a little awkward to see that work coming from the pen of a discarded Excise-officer, who had petitioned for a reinstatement in his oppressive office. Not a whit less awkward does it now appear, to hear clamours against the expenses of the British government coming from the very man who would willingly have added to those expenses by an augmentation of his own salary. He tells the poor people of Great Britain, that their “ hard-earned pence “ are wrung from them by the king and his ministers ;” yet, we see, that he wished a little more to be wrung from them, when he expected a share. —Disinterested and compassionate soul !

The English Clergy, too, and the tithes they receive, have been considerable objects of Thomas’s outcry. Those battering-rams, called the Rights of Man, have been directed against these with their full force. But what would the hypocrite have said, had he been able to slip within the walls of the church ? Like Dr. Priestley, Tom looks upon tithes as oppressive, merely because he is not a rector.

How little his attempt to obtain Holy Orders (sacrilegious monster !) and his Methodist preaching agree with the opinions expressed in his “ Age of Reason ” I shall notice, when I come to that epoch in his life, when he found it convenient to throw aside the mask, and become an open blasphemer ; but I cannot quit him in this place, without observing on the remarkable similarity in the career of Tom and that of *Old John Swanwick*. Both had paid off their debts in England with a sponge, both had been field preachers, and both had been Excise-officers, when the American war broke

out: at this moment they separated. After having gone side by side during their whole lives, they steered a course directly opposite to each other. Paine became a flaming patriot, while Swanwick remained a royalist.—How came this? Why, Swanwick was still in office, whereas poor Tom was dismissed. Had Swanwick been dismissed and Paine in office, Tom would have followed the British waggons to New-York, and Swanwick would, probably, have written *Common Sense*.

With the reader's permission, I will just step aside from my subject, to ask, how it happened, that Citizen John Swanwick, now one of the august representatives of the city of which I have the honour to be an inhabitant, came to be a staunch whig, while his respectable sire was as zealous a waggon-master as any in the Royal army? Mr. Swanwick was, I presume, too young, at that time, to perceive the amazing advantage that a citizen enjoys over a subject; and, as he professes a great deal of filial piety, one may reasonably suppose, that he would have followed the fortunes of his father, had not his remaining behind been in consequence of a concerted plan. This is a stroke of domestic policy, which has been often practised in ticklish times, but never with more complete success than in the present instance. The father was a *faithful subject* and the son a *firm patriot*; the father sang *God save the King* and the son *Yankey doodle*; the father got a *pension* and the son a *seat in Congress*.—I could continue a little further here, but it is time to return to our old broken Exciseman.

‘ Amid this knavery and mismanagement, Paine
 ‘ had not distinguished himself by conjugal tender-
 ‘ ness to his second wife. He had now lived with
 ‘ her three years and a half, and, besides cruelly
 ‘ beating, had otherwise treated her, wilfully and
 ‘ shamefully, in a manner which would excite the
 ‘ indignation

‘ indignation and resentment of every virtuous
 ‘ married woman ; and which must ensure to him
 ‘ the detestation of every honourable man. From
 ‘ an attention to the known delicacy and modesty
 ‘ of our fair country-women, we forbear, in this
 ‘ abstract, to state the particulars, though they
 ‘ are published at length in Mr. Oldys’s pamphlet.
 ‘ —The consequence of all this was a separation
 ‘ between him and his wife, upon the conditions of
 ‘ her paying her husband thirty-five pounds ster-
 ‘ ling, and his agreeing to claim no part of what-
 ‘ ever property she might thereafter acquire.’

‘ Paine now retired to London ; but would not
 ‘ leave his wife in peace till they had mutually en-
 ‘ tered into new articles of separation ; in which it
 ‘ was declared on his part, that *he no longer found*
 ‘ *a wife a convenience*, and on hers, that *she had*
 ‘ *too long suffered the miseries of such a husband.*’

This is the kind and philanthropic Tom Paine, who sets up such a piteous howl about the cruelty and tyranny of kings !—“ I have known many of those bold champions for liberty in my time,” says the good old Vicar of Wakefield, “ yet do I not remember one who was not in his heart and in his family a tyrant.” What Dr. Johnson observes of Milton may with justice be applied to every individual of the king-killing crew : “ he looked upon woman as male only for obedience, and man only for rebellion.” I would request the reader to look round among his acquaintance, and see if this observation does not every where hold good ; see if there be one among the yelping kennel of modern patriots, who is not a bad husband, father, brother, or son. The same pride and turbulence of spirit that lead them to withhold every mark of respect and obedience from their superiors, lead them also to tyrannize over those who are so unfortunate as to be subjected to their

will. The laws of nature will seldom, if ever, be respected by the man who has set those of his country and of decorum at defiance ; and from this degree of perversity there is but one step to the defiance of heaven itself. The good citizen or subject, the good husband, parent and child, and the good christian, exist together or they exist not at all.

From the circumstances attending Tom's separation from this last wife, we may make a pretty correct calculation of his value as a husband. The poor woman was obliged to pay him thirty-five pounds sterling to get rid of him ; so that, a *democratic spouse*, even supposing him to come up to his great leader in worth, is (in Federal currency) just one hundred and fifty-six dollars, sixty-six cents and two-thirds of a cent, *worse than nothing*. Oh, base democracy ! Why, it is absolutely worse than street-sweepings, or the filth of common-sewers.

The mob of kings that the poor French have got, have lately set Thomas to writing down the credit of English bank-notes, a task that the dregs of his old brain were quite unequal to. Instead of useless labours of this kind, instead of attempting to write down the Bible and bank-notes, I would recommend to him to oblige the people of his "be-loved America," as he calls it, with a statement of the sums necessary to pay off all the democratic husbands in this continent, at the price his own wife fixed on himself ; adding to the gross amount as much as would defray the expenses of their transportation to their proper climate, France. Their wives, I dare say, would have no objection to imitate Mrs. Paine, as far as their last farthing would go, and if all wisdom is not banished from within the walls of the Congress, they would never refuse to make up the deficiency.

We

We have seen enough of Tom as a husband ; now let us see what it is to be cursed with such a son.

‘ Citizen Paine now finding that his notoriously bad character rendered it adviseable for him to leave a country where he was known : he had the address to procure a recommendation to the late Dr. Franklin, in America, as a person who might, at such a crisis, be useful there. He accordingly sailed for America in September 1774.’

‘ The following letter from his mother to his wife, written about this time, proves that she had the distress of knowing his crimes and misfortunes, and of feeling for them as a parent naturally feels for a child, wicked or unhappy.’

Thetford, Norfolk, 27th July 1774.

“ Dear Daughter,

“ I must beg leave to trouble you with my inquiries concerning my unhappy son and your husband : various are the reports, the which I find come originally from the Excise-office ; such as his vile treatment to you ; his secreting upwards of 30*l.* intrusted with him to manage the petition for advance of salary ; and that, since his discharge, he have petitioned to be restored, which was rejected with scorn. Since which, I am told, he have left England. To all which I beg you will be kind enough to answer me by due course of post.—You will not be a little surprised at my so strongly desiring to know what is become of him, after I repeat to you his undutiful behaviour to the tenderest of parents : he never asked of us any thing but what was granted, that were in our poor abilities to do ; nay, we even distressed ourselves ; whose works are given
over

“ over by old age, to let him have 20*l.* on bond,
 “ and every other tender mark a parent could pos-
 “ sibly shew a child; his ingratitude, or want of
 “ duty, has been such, that he has not wrote to me
 “ upwards of two years.—If the above account be
 “ true, I am heartily sorry, that a woman, whose
 “ character and amiableness deserves the greatest
 “ respect, love, and esteem, as I have always on
 “ inquiry been informed yours did, should be tied
 “ for life, to the worst of husbands.—I am,

“ Dear Daughter,

“ Your affectionate mother,

“ F. PAIN.”

“ For God’s sake, let me have your answer, as I
 am almost distracted.”

‘ He arrived at Philadelphia in the winter of
 ‘ 1774, a few months before the battle of Lexington.
 ‘ He was first engaged as shopman, by Mr. Airkin,
 ‘ a bookseller in Philadelphia, at the wages of
 ‘ twenty pounds a year. In November 1775, he
 ‘ was employed in a laboratory. He took great
 ‘ pains in experiments for the purpose of disco-
 ‘ vering some cheap, easy, and expeditious method
 ‘ of making saltpetre. He was also the proposer
 ‘ of a plan for the voluntary supplying of the public
 ‘ magazines with gunpowder; and earnestly la-
 ‘ boured to persuade the inhabitants of Philadel-
 ‘ phia to adopt it.’

‘ On the 10th of January 1776, was published
 ‘ his *Common Sense*, an octavo pamphlet of sixty-
 ‘ three pages. This pamphlet was eagerly read,
 ‘ passed through several editions, and was even
 ‘ translated into German. Prosecuting the career,
 ‘ upon which he had thus not unsuccessfully en-
 ‘ tered, he, on the 19th of December 1776, pub-
 ‘ lished

‘lished in the *Pennsylvania Journal*, the first number of the *Crisis*, intended, like the former work, to encourage the Americans in their opposition to the British government.—The *Crisis*, he continued to publish in occasional numbers, till the 13th, and the last appeared on the same day on which a cessation of hostilities between America and Britain was proclaimed at Philadelphia, the 19th of April 1783.’

Thus, we see, that he was hardly arrived in America, when he set about digging up saltpetre for the destruction of his countrymen, the servants of that king whom he himself had served, and whom he would still have served, had he not been dismissed in disgrace. And can any one have the folly to believe, or the impudence to say, that this man was actuated by a love of liberty and America?

The unprincipled, or silly, admirers of Paine, when they hear their hero attacked, never fail to stigmatize his enemies as enemies of the American cause. Their object in doing this is evident enough: but, in the name of common sense, what has the justice or injustice of that cause to do with an inquiry into the actions and motives of Paine? Is a man to be looked upon as regretting that America obtained its independence, merely because he detests a cruel, treacherous, and blasphemous ruffian who once wrote in favour of it? Are the characters of the men who effected the separation from Britain so closely united with that of Paine, that they must stand or fall together? Are the merits of the revolution itself at last to be linked to all that is base and infamous?

No one, not even Congress itself, ever attempted to justify the colonists in their revolt against their sovereign upon any other ground than this: *that they were an oppressed people, unable to obtain a redress of their grievances, without appealing to arms.*

Seeing

Seeing them in this light, we must be careful to exclude from this justification all those subjects of the king, who assisted them without having partaken of the oppression of which they complained. Among the Americans themselves a difference of opinion might, and did, prevail. Some looked upon themselves as oppressed, others did not; both parties were fully justified upon the supposition that they acted agreeably to their consciences: but a man like Paine, just landed in the country, could have no oppression to complain of, and, therefore, his hostility against his country admits of no defence. He was a traitor, as were the Priestleys, the Prices, and all others of the same description. No good man, however zealous he might be in the revolution, ever respected Paine, of which the coldness and neglect he experienced, as soon as order was re-established, is a certain proof. The faithful citizen, or subject, naturally detests a traitor: it is an impulse that none of us can resist: however we may differ in opinion in other respects, we all agree (to use one of Tom's own expressions) that "a traitor is the foulest fiend on earth."

' In 1777, he was appointed by the Congress,
' secretary to their committee for foreign affairs.
' When Silas Deane, commercial agent for the Con-
' gress in Europe, was recalled, to make room for
' William Lee, once an alderman of London, a con-
' tention ensued between Deane and the family of
' the Lees; and Paine took part in the contro-
' versy, by attacking Deane. He took occasion to
' involve in the dispute the famous Robert Morris,
' financier of the United States. Morris interfered
' against him. And Paine was inadvertently pro-
' voked to retail, through the channel of the news-
' papers, *information which had been communicated*
' *to him in his office of secretary.* This information
' betraying intrigues of the French court, their am-
' bassador

‘ bassador complained to Congress. Paine being
 ‘ interrogated, confessed himself the author of the
 ‘ newspaper correspondence in question, and was
 ‘ in consequence dismissed from his office.’

What remarks I have to make here, I shall preface by an extract from Swift’s excellent work, lately published, on the laws of Connecticut, book V. chap. vii. Speaking of Paine’s “ baseness in his attack on Christianity by publishing his *Age of Reason*,” Mr. Swift observes: “ this work is said to be written by Thomas Paine, *secretary for foreign affairs to Congress in the American war*. Now, the truth is, that during some period of the American war, Congress appointed a committee for foreign affairs, to which Paine was secretary, but he had no power, and performed no duty, but that of clerk to the committee; without any portion of the authority afterwards annexed to the office of secretary for foreign affairs. From the post of secretary to the committee for foreign affairs, he was *dismissed for a scandalous breach of trust*. What must we think of a man who is capable of such a pitiful artifice to gratify his vanity, and render himself important ?”

These are not the words of an Englishman, but of a native American, a learned and elegant writer, and a tried friend and servant of his country.

The account given by Mr. Swift of Tom’s dismissal confirms that which is given of it in his life. Both accounts, however, are silent as to the nature of the intrigues which he divulged. As I have heard this matter often spoken of by my old bookseller and others, I will just repeat what I have heard, without pledging myself for the truth of it.

While Silas Deane was agent under the plenipotentiary administration of Doctor Franklin, at the court of Versailles; these intriguing patriots had the address to procure a present of 200,000 stand of
condemned

condemned arms from the King of France to the American Congress : but, as this was done at a time when the French court had solemnly, though treacherously, engaged not to interfere in the dispute, the *present* was to be kept a secret among the immediate agents. The *condemned arms*, given as a *present*, were, by the *faithful agents*, charged as *good ones*, and paid for by the United States. Who pocketed the money, was then, and is still a question ; but there seems to have been but little doubt of its having undergone a division and a subdivision, as the secret had extended far and wide, before poor Tom was silenced. I have heard more than one American, reputed democrats, curse Dr. Franklin for having misapplied the money of the country, and I imagine this must be what they allude to. He must certainly have found the philosopher's stone, if he thus possessed the gift of turning old iron into gold ; and, as I do not see, in his will, to whom he bequeathed this precious stone, I would thank his *grand-child* to inform us, in the next number of his polite and patriotic paper, who the happy mortal is.

After having heard these accounts of this dismission, which all agree, let us hear what Thomas says about it himself, in the second part of his *Rights of Man*. “ After the declaration of independence, Congress unanimously appointed me “ *secretary in the foreign department*. But a misunderstanding arising *between Congress and me*, “ respecting one of their commissioners then in “ Europe, Mr. Silas Deane, *I resigned the office*.” — Was there ever a more pitiful attempt at acquiring reputation than this ? He was in England when he wrote thus ; he would not have dared to write this passage in America. He calls himself *secretary in the foreign department*, thereby giving to understand that he was a secretary of state in America,

America, as Lord Grenville or the Duke of Portland is in England, and as Mr. Jefferson then was in the United States. *Secretary to the committee* for foreign affairs would have sounded small; it would have made a jingle like that of halfpence, whereas *secretary of state* rang in the ears of his empty-headed disciples, like guineas upon a hollow counter.

“ But a misunderstanding arising *between Congress and me.*” Here is another fetch at importance. “ Between Congress and me !” How the London Corresponding Society and affiliated mobs stared at this, I dare say. If his misconduct ever became a subject of discussion before Congress, that was all. A complaint was lodged against him, and Congress dismissed him; but his offence was exposing what should have been kept secret, in writing for the Lees against Silas Deane. How does he twist this into a misunderstanding between Congress and him? As well may the criminal say, he has had a misunderstanding with the judge who condemns him.

“ And so I *resigned the office.*” Mr. Swift says, and every one in America knows, that he was “ *dismissed* for a *scandalous breach of trust* ;” but this would not have been so convenient for the purpose of those infamous combinations of men who had undertaken to spread his works about the three kingdoms. In the courtier’s vocabulary, *resigned* has long been synonymous with *dismissed*, *discarded*, and *turned out*, and we see that Thomas, though he rails against courts and courtiers, did not scruple to employ it in the same way.

But there was another reason for substituting *resigned* for *turned out*. He had every reason to believe that his *life* would be published, and he wisely foresaw, that his having been *turned out* of the Excise, and again turned out in America, would stagger the

the faith of some of his proselytes. To be *turned out* by a monarchical government, and afterwards by a republican one, would have been a pretty convincing proof, that he was friendly to no government whatever. I sincerely believe that he hated, and that he still hates, the general government of the United States (as at present happily established), as much as the government of Great Britain. But it was necessary that he should find out something to hold up to the imitation of the English; no matter what, so as it differed from what they possessed. Being obliged, therefore, to make this use of the American government, he was the more anxious to hide the truth with respect to his *dismissal*; for how awkward would it have looked, at the end of his pompous encomiums on the government of America, to add, *this was the government that turned me out!*

‘ In August 1782, Thomas Paine published a controversial letter to the Abbé Raynal, in consequence of the latter author’s publication of his history of the *Revolution of America*. Absurd as were the general principles which Paine had advanced in his *Common Sense*, Raynal being in great distress for want of something to say on the occasion, had adopted some of them. Paine reclaimed what was his own, and controverted much of the rest that the Abbé said.—His next production was a letter to the Earl of Shelburne, on the effects likely to arise to Great Britain from the acknowledged independence of America.’

‘ His labours had not yet received any substantial reward. He, in the mean time, suffered all the miseries of penury. He now solicited the American Assemblies to grant some recompence for the services by which he had contributed to the establishment of their independence. New-York bestowed on him lands of little value at
‘ New

‘ New Rochelle! Pennsylvania granted him five hundred pounds.’

‘ In the autumn of 1786, he departed for France, after having, at New-York, seduced a young woman of a reputable family. In the beginning of the year 1787, he arrived in Paris, and exhibited before the French academy of sciences, the model of a bridge of peculiar construction.’

‘ On the 3d of September, in this same year, Thomas Paine arrived at the *White Bear*, in Piccadilly, London, after an absence of thirteen years from Britain.—His old friends recollected him; although he might have been better satisfied to have been forgotten by some of them.’

‘ Before the end of 1787, he published a pamphlet, intituled *Prospects on the Rubicon*, &c.—In the year 1788, he was busy at Rotherham, in Yorkshire, about the casting of an iron arch for the bridge of which he had presented a model to the French academy. This bridge proved merely an expensive project, by which the contriver was impoverished, and the community not benefited. At Rotherham, his familiarities became disagreeable to the women.’

‘ Through various circumstances, Paine became indebted to Whiteside, the American merchant, whom he had employed to receive his remittances, and to furnish his expenses, in the sum of six hundred and twenty pounds. Upon the bankruptcy of Whiteside, Paine was arrested by order of the assignees, at the *White Bear*, Piccadilly, on the 29th of October 1789. He remained for three weeks, confined in a spunging-house, till he was at length relieved by the kind interference of two eminent American merchants, Messrs. Clagget and Murdock.’

‘ Meanwhile, Paine had, during his involuntary retirement, listened eagerly to the news of the

‘ rising commotions in France. Soon after he was
 ‘ set at liberty, therefore, he crossed the Channel,
 ‘ in order to be a nearer spectator of events in which
 ‘ he rejoiced. He returned to England about the
 ‘ time of the publication of Mr. Burke’s pamphlet
 ‘ on the French Revolution. His next work was
 ‘ an answer to Mr. Burke, in the First Part of his
 ‘ *Rights of Man.*’

‘ This work was published on the 13th of March
 ‘ 1791, by a Mr. Jordan in Fleet-street. Conscious
 ‘ of the seditious falsehoods which he had advanced
 ‘ in it, Paine dreaded even then the inquiries of
 ‘ the King’s messengers, and sought concealment
 ‘ in the house of his friend, Mr. Brand Hollis ;
 ‘ while it was industriously given out by those in
 ‘ his secret, that he had hastily departed for Paris.’

‘ The work which caused these fears, was per-
 ‘ fectly of that cast, by which superficial readers
 ‘ and thinkers are most readily affected ; grossly
 ‘ invective, frequently quibbling, confounding ge-
 ‘ nerals with particulars, and particulars with ge-
 ‘ nerals, audaciously bold, and speaking the lan-
 ‘ guage of prevalent prejudices. It was, besides,
 ‘ warmly recommended to the people by a *Society*,
 ‘ who took the denomination of *Constitutional.*’

‘ In the middle of May, after having thus la-
 ‘ boured to enlighten or confound the British na-
 ‘ tion, Paine returned to Paris. While *sojourning*
 ‘ there, he entered into a controversy with Emanuel
 ‘ Syeyes, who had been chiefly active in framing
 ‘ the new constitution of France ; Syeyes in de-
 ‘ fence of that limited monarchy which the new con-
 ‘ stitution had established ; Paine, *against the whole*
 ‘ *hell of monarchy*,—to use his own words. This
 ‘ controversy was soon dropped.’

‘ On the 13th of July 1791, Paine again arrived
 ‘ at the White Bear in Piccadilly, just in time to
 ‘ assist in the celebration of the anniversary of the
 ‘ French

‘ French Revolution. He did not, however, ap-
 ‘ pear at the public dinner on the following day.
 ‘ But he joined the celebrators about eight o’clock
 ‘ in the evening; when the people, enraged to see
 ‘ them brave the laws, and exult in events un-
 ‘ friendly to the happiness of Britain, had assembled
 ‘ tumultuously to drive them away from the Crown
 ‘ and Anchor Tavern, the place of their meeting.
 ‘ Mortified at finding those hostile to them, whom
 ‘ they had hoped to seduce to become the instru-
 ‘ ments of their turbulence, our republicans pub-
 ‘ lished, on the 20th of August 1791, from the
 ‘ Thatched House Tavern, a *sedition declaration*,
 ‘ the writing of Paine, which obliged the inn-
 ‘ keeper to forbid them his house.’

‘ After these transactions, Paine was preparing
 ‘ to visit Ireland, in the character of an apostle of
 ‘ democracy, when he learned that the Irish were
 ‘ already so well acquainted with his *real character*,
 ‘ that he might probably meet with an unfavourable
 ‘ reception. On this news, he retired in disgust,
 ‘ to Greenwich.’

‘ On the 4th of November 1791, he assisted, on
 ‘ the eve of the gunpowder plot, at the accustomed
 ‘ commemoration of the 5th of November, by the
 ‘ Revolution Society. He was thanked for his
 ‘ *Rights of Man*; and gave for his toast, the *Rev-
 ‘ olution of the World*.’

‘ Immediately after this, preparing to bring forth
 ‘ the *Second Part* of his *Rights of Man*, he hid
 ‘ himself in Fetter-lane. None knew where he
 ‘ was concealed, except Mr. Horne Tooke, whose
 ‘ friendly care corrected the inaccuracies of his
 ‘ style, and Mr. Chapman, who was employed to
 ‘ print his book. At Mr. Chapman’s table he oc-
 ‘ casionally spent a pleasant evening, after the soli-
 ‘ tary labours of the day. After this commodious
 ‘ intercourse had subsisted for several months,

‘ Paine was somehow moved to insult Mr. Chapman’s wife ;* in consequence of which the printer turned him out of doors with indignation ; exclaiming that he had *no more principle than a post, and no more religion than a ruffian.*’

‘ Paine has ascribed a different origin to this quarrel with his printer : but, it is proper that even in so small a matter the truth should be known. A false tale was held out to the public, as is stated at length in Mr. Oldys’s pamphlet : and that part of the work which had been rejected by Mr. Chapman was transferred to a Mr. Crowther.’

‘ This *Second Part* was at length printed and published : being recommended by the same qualities as the *First*, it met with a similar reception. Its author, finding that he had now excited against himself the strongest abhorrence of all the worthier part of the nation, thought it prudent to retire to France. In the mean time he printed a letter to Mr. Secretary Dundas, and another to Lord Onslow, the absurd scurrility of which, might be supposed matchless ; were it not that the same author has since exceeded it in an *Address to the Addressers* upon his Majesty’s proclamation for the suppression of seditious writings,—and in a *Letter to the National Convention of France.*’

‘ His actions and writings, however little credit they may have done him in Britain, recommended him to a seat in the French Convention.’

‘ It would be difficult for him to find any other assembly in the world in which he would be not less respectable than most of the leaders. To what issue this last preferment of his may lead, it is not easy to predict. But, from the complexion of some of the late sittings of the Convention, it

* See Chapman’s testimony on oath ; Paine’s trial.

‘ seems extremely probable that his career may finish with that miserable end to which Providence generally permits the machinations of such men to conduct them at last.’

‘ For the publication of those writings, the tendency of which is avowedly seditious, and of which there has been too much use made towards the disturbing of the domestic tranquillity of the British empire—our author has, since his retreat into France, been indicted at the instance of the king, as usual in such cases; tried at Guildhall, before Lord Kenyon; and found guilty by a very respectable jury, as the author and publisher of a book, called “Second Part of the Rights of Man, containing many false, wicked, scandalous, malicious, and seditious assertions.”

‘ It is scarcely necessary to add, that booksellers and other venders of Paine’s works must see, by this *verdict*, that the laws of their country, if diligently enforced, are ready to punish them for so dishonest a *traffic*.’

‘ The reader of this plain, candid narrative, may judge for himself, whether Paine be a friend to Great Britain, or a man whose conduct he would choose to imitate, or whose advice he would follow in ordinary cases; and what reliance can be placed on the facts which he has boldly asserted as the ground work of most of his wild theories.’

Here ends the account of Paine’s life, as I find it in print, and which, as I formerly observed, was published about the beginning of 1793. I shall now attempt a continuation of it down to the present time, dwelling on such parts only of his conduct as will admit of no dispute respecting facts.

Thomas’s having merited death, or, at least, transportation in England, was a strong recommendation to him in France, whose newly enlightened inhabitants seem to have conceived a wonderful partial-

ity for all that's vile. Several of the departments disputed with each other the *honour* of having a *convict* for their representative; a thing not so much to be wondered at, when we recollect, that their wise rulers declared, by a decree, that the galley-slaves were all most excellent patriots, and that the hangman's was a post of honour.

The exact time of Tom's flight to this country of liberty and virtue is not mentioned, I believe, in the above account; but I recollect hearing his arrival talked of in the month of June, 1792. I had been on a trip from St. Omer's to Dunkirk, and on my return, I first heard the news announced to a pretty numerous company in the canal stage. "Voilà (says an old monk, who had been driven from his cell by the sans-culottes, and who was now looking over the gazette) "Voilà ce coquin de Paine qui nous arrive de l'Angleterre."*—"Ah, mon Dieu!" (exclaimed a well-dressed woman who was sitting beside me) "Ah, la pauvre France! Tous les scélérats de tous les pays de l'univers vont s'assembler chez nous."† The justness of this observation struck me at the time, and has often occurred to my memory since. Indeed, every man of infamous character, every felon and every traitor, began, at the time I am now speaking of, to look upon France as his home; and this circumstance, better than any other, marks the true character of the revolution. The property of the nation was laid prostrate, and these villains were assembling round it, as birds of prey hover over an expiring carcass.

Whether Paine was really in France, or not, in June 1792, is immaterial: it is certain that he took

* "Why, that rascal Paine is just arrived from England."

† "Ah, my God! Ah, poor France! All the scoundrels from all the countries in the universe are flocking amongst us."

his seat among that gang of blood thirsty tyrants, usually called the *Convention*, just time enough to assist in proscribing that Constitution which he had writren two whole books in defence of, and in conferring every epithet of ridicule and reproach on the Constituent Assembly, whom he had a few months before extolled, as "the most august, illuminated and illuminating body of men on earth." It was now that the English reformers and the democrats of America would have blushed, had not their fronts been covered with bull-hide, for the pompous eulogiums they had heaped on the author of the *Rights of Man*.

The first job that Tom was set about, after the destruction of the Constitution, was, making another. This was a thing of course, for there is no such thing as living without constitutions now-a-days. Thomas and his fellow journeymen, Brissot, Clavière, and about half a dozen others, fell to work, and, in a very few days, hammered out the clumsy, ill-proportioned devil of a thing, commonly called the Constitution of 1793. Of this ridiculous instrument I shall only observe, that, after being cried up by the American newspapers, as the masterpiece of legislative wisdom, it was rejected with every mark of contempt, even by the French themselves. What is too absurd for them to swallow must be absurd indeed!

About the time that this constitution work was going on, the unfortunate king was brought to trial by his ten times perjured and rebellious subjects. Paine did not vote for his death, a circumstance that his friends produce as a proof of his justice and humanity, forgetting at the same time, that they thereby brand all those who did vote for it, with injustice and barbarity. However, upon closer inquiry, we shall find little reason for distinctions between Tom and his colleagues. He voted for the

king's *banishment*, the banishment of a man perfectly innocent, and it was owing merely to his being embarked with the faction of Brissot, instead of that of Danton, that he did not vote for his death. Brissot afterwards published, in the name of his whole party, the reasons why they looked on it as *good policy* not to put the king to death; on these reasons was the vote of Paine founded, and not on his humanity or his justice. Pétion, the infamous Pétion de Villeneuve, did not vote for the king's death: yet certainly no one will believe that motives of justice or humanity restrained the man, who, after having plotted the insurrection of the tenth of August, brought it against the king as a crime, and who loaded the royal captives and their children with every insult and cruelty that the heart of an upstart savage tyrant could suggest.

The whole process of the trial of the king of France, from the beginning to the end, was the most flagrant act of injustice that ever stained the annals of the world. It was well known to every one, and particularly to the audacious regicides themselves, that he was innocent of every crime laid to his charge. The sentence of banishment was therefore as unjust as that of death. Injustice is ever injustice: it may exist in different degrees, but it can never change its nature. Had Paine been a just and humane man, he would have stood up boldly in the defence of innocence, in place of sheltering himself under a vote for *banishment*. Banishment! Great God! Banishment on the head of the towering family of Bourbon, pronounced by a discarded English Exciseman!—What must have been the feelings of this forsaken prince, who was once called the great and good ally of America, when he heard the word *banishment*! come from the lips of a wretch raised to notice by the success of a revolution of which he himself had been a principal

pal support !—I hope no such thought came athwart the mind of the unfortunate Louis ; if it did, certain I am it must have been ten million times more poignant than the pangs of death.

However Paine might find it convenient to vote upon this occasion, it is certain he did not feel much horror at the murder of the benefactor of his “ beloved America,” or he would not have remained with, and in the service of, his murderers. He was told this by his quondam friend Mr. King, in a letter sent him from England soon afterwards. “ *If the French kill their king, it will be a signal for my departure, for I will not abide among such sanguinary men.*—These, Mr. Paine, were your words at our last meeting ; yet, after this, you are not only with them, but the chief modeller of their new constitution, formed so heterogeneous and inconsistent, so hypothetical and contradictory, as shows me, that provided your theories obtain fame, you are indifferent how the people may be disappointed in the practice of them.”

Having introduced this correspondence here, it is a proper place for me to give the reader a striking proof of Thomas’s disinterestedness, a quality for which he sets a very high value on himself. “ Politics and self-interest” (says he, in the second part of what he calls his *Rights of Man*) “ have been so uniformly connected, that the world has a right to be suspicious of *public characters* : but, *with regard to myself*, I am perfectly easy on this head. I did not, at my first setting out in *public life*, turn my thoughts on subjects of government from motives of self-interest : and my conduct from that moment to this proves the fact.”—After this bouncing outset, he goes on and tells his readers how disinterested he was in America, quite forgetting, however, to observe that he solicited, and

and obtained, a recompense for his services, as is stated in the above account of his life.—The following letter will put his disinterestedness in a very clear point of view, and may, perhaps, serve to remove the film from the eyes of some of those, who are apt to place too much confidence in the professions of our disinterested patriots.

“ Dear King,

“ I don't know any thing these many years, that surprised, and hurt me more, than the sentiments you published in the *Courtly HERALD*, the 12th December, signed JOHN KING, *Egham Lodge*. You have gone back from all you ever said.———You used to complain of abuses as well as me, and wrote your opinions on them in free terms. What then means this sudden attachment to *Kings*? This fondness of the English Government and hatred of the French?—If you mean to curry favour, by aiding your government, you are mistaken; *they never recompense those who serve it*; they buy off those who can annoy it, and let the good that is rendered it, be its own reward. Believe me, KING, *more is to be obtained by cherishing the rising spirit of the people, than by subduing it. Follow my fortunes, and I will be answerable, that you shall make your own.*”

“ THO. PAINE.”

“ Paris, January 3, 1793.”

This letter ought to be stuck upon every wall and every post in the United States, and in every other country where the voice of the people is of any consequence. It is the creed, the *multum in parvo*, of all the pretended patriots that ever infested the earth,

earth. It is all in all; it is conclusive, and requires neither colouring nor commentary.

After the death of the king of France, there was a long struggle between the faction of Brissot, to which Tom had attached himself, and that of Danton, Robespierre and Marat. The last named murderer was dispatched by a murderess of Brissot's faction, after which her abettors were all guillotined, imprisoned, or proscribed. Thomas saved his life by countenancing the degradation of the Christian religion, in his "Age of Reason."

When Danton was solicited to spare him on account of his talents as a writer in the cause of liberty, "tu ne vois pas donc, f— bête," replied he to the solicitor, "que nous n'avons plus besoin de pareils fanatiques."* Cut-throat Danton was right enough; indeed they no longer stood in need of a fanatical writer in the cause of liberty, when they had made it a crime for men to weep.

Danton made a calculation of Tom's head and talents, just as a farmer makes a calculation of the labour, carcass, hide and offal of a bullock; and he found that he would fetch more living than dead. By writing against religion, he might do his cause some service, and there was little or no danger to be apprehended from him; because, being an Englishman, it was only giving him that name, and he could any time have him killed and dressed, *à la mode de Paris*, at five minutes warning.

Horrid as Paine's attack on revealed religion must appear to every one untainted with deism or atheism, the base assailant is not seen in his true colours, in his blackest hue, till the opinions in his "Age of Reason" are compared with the hypocritical

* "You do not perceive then, you simpleton, that we no longer want fanatics of that sort."

canting professions of respect for "the *Word of God*," contained in some of his former writings. In his *Common Sense*, calling on the people to separate themselves from the government that had discarded him, he says it is "a form of government" that the *word of God* bears testimony against;" and in another part of the same work, proposing the promulgation of a new charter, he says: "that we may not appear to be defective even in earthly honours, let a day be solemnly set apart for proclaiming the charter; let it be brought forth placed on the *divine law*, the *word of God*."—— In another place he spends whole pages in endeavouring to persuade his readers that monarchy is disapproved of by God, and he brings his proofs from Holy Writ, concluding with these words. "These portions of the *Holy Scriptures* are direct and positive. *They admit of no equivocal construction.*"—— In one part of the same writings he complains of the "*impiety*" of the Tories, and in another of "the *unchristian* peevishness of the Quakers." He calls upon the people to turn out in the name of God. "Say not," adds he, "that thousands are gone out, turn out your tens of thousands; throw not the burthen of the day upon *Providence*, but *show your faith by your works*," that God may bless you."

——"We claim" (says he again, keeping up the cant) we claim brotherhood with every European *christian*, and glory in the generosity of the sentiment."——Generous and sentimental rascal! Whom do you claim brotherhood with now? Who will admit as a brother, the wretch, who, at one time calls the Scriptures the *word of God*, and quotes them as an infallible guide, and at another, ridicules them as a series of fictions, contrived by artful priests to amuse, delude, and cheat mankind?

From

From Paine's *Common Sense* and his *Age of Reason* we may perceive how his opinion differed concerning the Americans at the two epochs of his writing. When he wrote the former, he looked upon them as a conscientious and pious people; but when he wrote the latter, he certainly looked upon them in the opposite light, or he never would have ventured to address the work to them. The fact is, he had altered his opinion of them upon the strength of what he saw in the greatest part of the public papers. After seeing a minister of the gospel abused, for having boldly asserted the truth of its doctrines, in opposition to the horrid decrees of the French Convention; after having seen the name of *Jesus Christ* placed in a list of famous Democrats, along with the names of *Paine* and *Marat*, it was no wonder if he thought that his manual of blasphemy would be an acceptable present to his "be-loved Americans."

Indeed, there is but too much reason to fear, that the *Age of Reason* being translated into English, apparently for the sole purpose of being published here, its being dedicated to the citizens of the United States, together with the uncommon pains that have been taken to propagate it and the abuse that has been heaped upon all those who have attempted to counteract its effects, will do but little credit to the national character, in the opinions of those foreigners who are not well acquainted with it. Every effort should, therefore, be exerted to convince the world, that all men of sense and worth in America agree in their abhorrence of the work and its malignant author. From this persuasion it was, that I inserted in the *Political Censor for May*, an extract from Judge Rush's pious address to the grand jury at Reading, and that I now honour the present *Censor* with an extract from Mr. Swift's *Sys-*
tem

tem of Laws of Connecticut, a work that every one should read, and that every one who reads must admire.

“ To prohibit” (says this learned and elegant writer) “ To prohibit the open, public, and explicit denial of the popular religion of a country, is a necessary measure to preserve the tranquillity of a government. Of this no person in a christian country can complain ; for, admitting him to be an infidel, he must acknowledge, that no benefit can be derived from the subversion of a religion which enforces the best system of morality, and inculcates the divine doctrine of doing justly, loving mercy, and walking humbly with God. In this view of the subject, we cannot sufficiently reprobate the baseness of Thomas Paine, in his attack on christianity, by publishing his *Age of Reason*. While *experiencing in a prison, the fruits of his visionary theories of government*, he undertakes to disturb the world by his religious opinions. He has the impudence and effrontery to address to the citizens of the United States of America, a paltry performance, which is intended to shake their faith in the religion of their fathers ; a religion, which, while it inculcates the practice of moral virtue, contributes to smooth the thorny road of this life, by opening the prospect of a future and better : and all this he does, not to make them happier, or to introduce a better religion, but to embitter their days by the cheerless and dreary visions of unbelief. No language can describe the wickedness of the man, who will attempt to subvert a religion which is a source of comfort and consolation to its votaries, merely for the sake of eradicating all sentiments of religion.”

Of

Of the many answers to Paine no one demands so much of our praise and our gratitude as Dr. WATSON'S *Apology for the Bible*. From some weak attempts, by persons either unskilled on the subject or unaccustomed to wield the weapons of disputation, the deists began to triumph in the thought that the clumsy cavillings of their leader were unanswerable, when this most excellent work appeared, and left nothing unanswered or unrefuted *. It is as much impossible for me to do justice to the *Apology*, as to express my veneration for its author. Learning, genius, candour, modesty, and humility, all seem to have united here, to do honour to the cause of Christianity, and cover its enemies with shame and confusion. And, a circumstance that must be particularly mortifying to Paine, and to all the enemies of order and religion, the man to whom the world is indebted for this production, is an *aristocrat*, and a *Prelate of the Church of England*, raised to his dignity by the choice of a *King*.

Let us now return to the hoary blasphemer at the bottom of his dungeon. There he lies! manacled, besmeared with filth, crawling with vermin, loaded with years and infamy. This, reader, whatever you may think of him, is the author of the *Rights of*

* The *Rights of Man* also has, in this country, been pretty generally looked upon as *unanswerable*. This is not so much to be wondered at, when we consider the pains that have been taken to hide from the people every thing that might tend to wean them from their partiality to the new-fangled doctrine of liberty and equality. The *Rights of Man* has, however, been answered, and that in a most complete and masterly manner. This answer is now in my possession, and I promise myself the honour of communicating it to the public in a few days. This work ought to accompany Dr. Watson's *Apology*: the two together will be an effective antidote for all Tom's theological and political poison.

Man, the eulogist of French liberty. The very same man who a few months back boasted of being "*the representative of twenty five millions of free men.*" Look at him. Do you think now, in your conscience, that he has the appearance of a legislator, a civilian, a constitution maker? It is no tyrannical king, I'll assure you, who has tethered him thus. He was condemned by his colleagues, and his fetters were rivetted by his own dear constituents. Here he is, fairly caught in his own trap, a striking example for the disturbers of mankind.

After Thomas got out of his *cachot* (a word that, I dare say, he understands better than any other in the French language), it was reported that he was dead, which occasioned the epitaph on him, to be seen in the Censor for May; but, it has appeared since, that the report of his death was owing to a mode of expression which the French have, whereby a person sunk into insignificance is said to be dead. He, or some one in his name, has lately written a work, entitled, the *Decline and Fall of the British System of Finance*, of which it is quite enough to say, that it is of equal merit with the rest of his writings. All his predictions have hitherto remained unfulfilled, and those contained in the last effort of his malice will share the same fate. It is extremely favourable for British bank-notes, that he, who doubts of their solidity will not believe in the Bible.

How Tom gets a living now, or what brothel he inhabits, I know not, nor does it much signify to any body here or any where else. He has done all the mischief he can in the world, and whether his carcass is at last to be suffered to rot on the earth, or to be dried in the air, is of very little consequence. Whenever or wherever he breathes his
last,

last, he will excite neither sorrow nor compassion; no friendly hand will close his eyes, not a groan will be uttered, not a tear will be shed. Like *Judas* he will be remembered by posterity; men will learn to express all that is base, malignant, treacherous, unnatural and blasphemous, by the single monosyllable, *Paine*.

R E M A R K S

ON THE PAMPHLETS LATELY PUBLISHED AGAINST

PETER PORCUPINE.

“DEAR FATHER, when you used to set me
 “ off to work in the morning, dressed in my blue
 “ smock-frock and woollen spatterdashes, with my
 “ bag of bread and cheese and bottle of small beer
 “ swung over my shoulder on the little crook that
 “ my old god-father Boxall gave me, little did you
 “ imagine that I should one day become so great a
 “ man as to have my picture stuck in the win-
 “ dows, and have four whole books published
 “ about me in the course of one week.”——Thus
 begins a letter which I wrote to my father yester-
 day morning, and which, if it reaches him, will
 make the old man drink an extraordinary pot of ale
 to my health. Heaven bless him! I think I see
 him now, by his old-fashioned fire-side, reading the
 letter to his neighbours. “ Ay, ay,” says he,
 “ *Will* will stand his ground wherever he goes.”
 ——And so I will, father, in spite of all the hell of
 democracy.

When I had the honour to serve King George, I
 was elated enough at the putting on of my worsted
 shoulder-knot, and, afterwards, my silver-laced coat;
 what must my feelings be then, upon seeing half a
 dozen authors, all *Doctors* or the devil knows what,
 writing about me at one time, and ten times that
 number

number of printers, bookbinders, and booksellers, bustling, running and flying about in all directions, to announce my fame to the impatient public? What must I feel upon seeing the newspapers filled from top to bottom, and the windows and corners of the houses placarded, with, a *Blue Shop for Peter Porcupine*, a *Pill for Peter Porcupine*, *Peter Porcupine detected*, a *Roaster for Peter Porcupine*, a *History of Peter Porcupine*, a *Picture of Peter Porcupine*? The public will certainly excuse me, if after all this, I should begin to think myself a person of some importance.

It is true, my heroic adversaries do all set out with telling their readers, that I am a contemptible wretch *not worth notice*. They should have said, not worth the notice *of any honest man*, and, as they would all naturally have excluded themselves by such an addition, they would have preserved consistency at least: but, to sit down hammering their brains for a fortnight or three weeks, and at last publish each of them a pamphlet about me and my performances, and then tell the public that *I am not worth notice*, is such a gross insult to common sense that nothing but democratic stupidity can be a sufficient excuse for.

At the very moment that I am writing, these sorry fellows are hugging themselves in the thought that they have silenced me, *cut me up*, as they call it. They think they see me prostrate, and they are swaggering over me, like a popish priest over a dead corpse. It would require other pens than theirs to silence me. I shall keep plodding on in my old way, as I used to do at plough; and I think it will not be looked upon as any very extraordinary trait of vanity to say, that the *Political Censor* will be read, when the very names of their bungling pamphlets will be forgotten.

I must now beg the reader to accompany me in some few remarks that I think it necessary to make on each of their productions, following the order in which they appeared.

“ A ROASTER FOR PETER PORCUPINE.”

What can I say worse of this blustering performance, than that it bears all the internal evidence of being written by the blunderbuss author who disgusted the city with *Rub from Snub*?

“ THE BLUE SHOP; or *Humorous* Observations,
“ &c.”

The inoffensive and unmeaning title of this pamphlet is fully expressive of the matter it is prefixed to, excepting that the word *humorous* was, perhaps, never before so unfortunately applied. Every one who has been taken in with this quarter-dollar's worth, whether a friend or an enemy of Peter Porcupine, curses it for the most senseless and vapid piece of stuff that ever issued from the press. The author, I hear, retorts, and swears the Americans are a set of stupid jack-asses, who know not what true humour is. 'Tis pity he had not perceived this before, he might then have accommodated his *humour* to their understandings. It is now too late to rail against their ignorance or want of taste, for, in spite of his railing and fretting, *James Quicksilver* will, by them, ever be looked upon as a most leaden-headed fellow.

“ PORCUPINE, A PRINT.”

This is a caricature, in which I am represented as urged on to write by my old master King George (under the form of a crowned lion), who, of course, comes accompanied with the devil. The *Jay*, with the treaty in his beak, is mounted on the lion's back,

back, though, by the by, it has ever been said, by the democrats, that the lion rode the *Jay*. His Satanic Majesty holds me out a bag of money, as an encouragement to destroy the idol, liberty, to which he points. The American Eagle is represented as drooping his wings in consequence of my hostility, and America herself, on the same account; weeps over the bust of Franklin. This is almost the only part of the print of which I find fault; for, if by America the people of America be to be understood, I believe most of those who have read my essays will do me the justice to say, that I have endeavoured to make America laugh instead of weep.—As to myself, I am the hero of the piece, I am brought forward to the front of the stage, where the artist makes me trample upon *Randolph's Defence*, the *Rights of Man*, *Old Common Sense*, *Madison*, *Gallatin*, *Swanwick*, and *Peter Pindar*. How this blundering fellow came to place *Pindar* among the rest I cannot imagine. It discovers a total ignorance of that author's writings, and of my opinion concerning them. Can the American democrats approve, and can I disapprove, of a writer who says of Tom Paine—

“ Paine, in his thirst for reputation,
 “ Has written to deserve damnation ?”

Can the democrats approve, and can I disapprove, of a writer who speaks of France and of Frenchmen in the following manner ?

“ Keel up lies FRANCE ! long may she keep that posture !
 “ Her knav'ry, folly, on the rocks have tost her ;
 “ Behold the thousands that surround the wreck !
 “ Her cables parted, rudder gone,
 “ Split all her sails, her mainmast down,
 “ Chok'd all her pumps, crush'd in her deck ;
 “ Sport for the winds, the billows o'er her roll !
 “ Now I am glad of it with all my soul.

" To BRITAIN an insidious damn'd Iago—
 " Remember, ENGLISHMEN, old Cato's cry,
 " And keep that patriot model in your eye—
 " His constant cry, "*Delendo est Carthago.*"
 " Love I the French?—By heav'n's 'tis no such matter!
 " Who loves a Frenchman wars with simple nature.

" The converse chaste of day, and eke of night,
 " The kiss-clad moments of supreme delight,
 " To love's pure passion only due;
 " The seraph smile that soft-ey'd FRIENDSHIP wears,
 " And sorrow's balm of sympathizing tears,
 " Those iron-hearted fellows never knew.

" Hear me, Dame Nature, on these men of *cork*—
 " Blush at a FRENCHMAN's *heart*, thy handy work;
 " A dunghill that luxuriant feeds
 " The gaudy and the rankest weeds:
 " Deception, grub-like, taints its very core,
 " Like flies in carrion—Prithce make no more.

" Yes, FRENCHMEN, this is my unvarying creed,
 " Ye are not rational, indeed;
 " So low have fond conceit and folly sunk ye:
 " Only a *larger kind of monkey!*"

And yet this is the writer that the learned and sagacious democrats make me trample upon! I think my namesake Peter speaks here like a good honest Englishman, and though Mr. Bache publishes his works, and boasts of being in correspondence with him, I am very far from either trampling on those works or disliking their author.

Perhaps I ought to take some notice of the quarter whence this *caricature* and the *Blue Shop* issued, as it furnishes an instance, among thousands, of that degradation which the first movers in the French revolution have long been, and still are exhibiting to the world. These poor miserable catch-penny pictures and pamphlets are published by a man of the name of *Moreau*, who was one of those whom Tom Paine and his comrades Price and Priestley called, "the great illuminated and illuminating
 " National

“ National Assembly of France.”—Goddess of Liberty! and dost thou permit this thy “great illuminated and illuminating” knocker-down of Bastiles to wage a puny *underband* war with one of King George’s red-coats? Dost thou permit one of those aspiring “legislators of the universe!” who commanded the folding doors of the *Louvre* to fly open at their approach, and who scorned to yield the precedence to Princes and Emperors, to dwindle down into a miserable *marchand d’estampes*? If these be thy tricks, Goddess of *French* Liberty, may the devil take Peter, if ever thy bloody cap and pike entice him to enlist under thy banners.

Mr. Moreau, to his other misfortunes, adds that most calamitous one of thinking he can write. He is cursed with the scribbling itch, without knowing how to scratch himself with a good grace. As this is torment enough in itself, I do not wish to add to it by mentioning particular instances of his want of taste and talents. The greatest punishment I wish my enemies, is, that *Moreau* may be obliged to write all his life-time, and that the rest may be obliged to read his productions.

“ THE HISTORY OF A PORCUPINE.”

This pamphlet is, I am told, copied, *verbatim*, from a chap-book, containing the lives of several men who were executed in Ireland some years ago, names and dates only are changed, to give the thing an air of plausibility.—It is said to be published by two Scotch lads, lately arrived in the country, and who now live in some of the allies about Dock-street, no matter which.—One of their acquaintances called on me some days after the publication appeared, and offered to furnish me with the book from which it is taken. This offer I declined accepting of.—I shall only add here, as a caution to

my readers, that these are the men who are seen hawking about a work in numbers, which they are pleased to call a *History of France*, and who are proposing to publish a *Monthly Magazine*.

“ A PILL FOR PORCUPINE.”

It is a rule with book-makers, that a title should, as briefly as possible, express the nature of the work to which it is prefixed. According to this rule, *Pill* is a most excellent title to the performance now before me. A *Pill* is usually a compound of several nauseous, and sometimes poisonous, drugs, and such is the *Pill for Porcupine*.

Various have been the conjectures as to the author of this abusive piece. Be he who he may, he has certainly done me a favour in grouping me along with Messrs. Hamilton, Belknap, Morse, &c. I would cheerfully swallow my part of his pill, and even think it an honour to be poisoned, in such company as this.

Since the *sentimental* dastard, who has thus aimed a stab at the reputation of a woman, published his *Pill*, I have shown my marriage certificate to *Mr. Abercrombie*, the minister of the church opposite me.—All you who emigrate to the United States of America, to enjoy this unrestrained liberty of the press that they make such a fuss about, take care (if you mean to say a word in favour of your country) to bring your vouchers and certificates with you, or they'll stigmatize you for thieves; your wives will be called whores, and your children bastards!—Blessed liberty of the press!

“ THE IMPOSTOR DETECTED.”

This pamphlet ought, on every account, to come last: we have seen the rest rising above each other progressively;

progressively ; this of *Bradford's* crowns the whole, caps the climax of falsehood and villainy.

The former part of it bears the assumed name of *Tickletoby*, the latter, that of *Samuel F. Bradford*. It is evident, however, that both are by the same author ; who he is, is not of much consequence : it is clear that he acted under the directions of Bradford, and Bradford must and shall answer for the whole.

What every one recoils at the bare idea of, is Bradford's writing a pamphlet *against the works of Peter Porcupine*. Had he confined his attack to my private character and opinions, he would not have so completely exposed himself ; but this, I suppose, his author would not consent to ; I do not know any other way of accounting for his conduct.

Every one perceives that the letter which Bradford inserts in *Tickletoby's* part of the pamphlet, is nothing but a poor and vain attempt to preserve consistency. However, to leave no room for dispute on this score, and to convict the shuffling Bradford on his own words, I am willing to allow him to be neuter with respect to *Tickletoby's* part, and will take him up on the contents of the letter which he signs. " That I have made use," says he, " of the British Corporal for a good purpose, I have little doubt—*Dirty water* will quench fire."

Of his *making use of me* I shall speak by-and-by ; at present I shall confine myself to the *dirty water*, which is the name he gives my writings.—Now, how will he reconcile this with his zeal to spread them abroad, and with the aukward flattery he and his family used to bore my ears with ? Had I believed the half of what they told me, I should have long ago expired in an extacy of self-conceit. When the *Observations on Priestley's Emigration* were published, Bradford and his wife took great care

to inform me of the praises bestowed on them by several gentlemen, *Doctor Green* in particular, and to point out to me the passages that gave the most pleasure. The *first* Bone to Gnaw gave universal satisfaction, they told me: it was read in all companies, by the young and by the old; and I remember that the sons told me, on this occasion, how delighted their uncle, the late worthy Attorney General, was with it; and that he said he should have loved me for ever, if I had not been so severe upon the French. Before the New Year's Gift appeared in public, Bradford told me he had read some pages of it to two of the *Senators*, who were mightily pleased with it, and laughed very heartily. While the father was plying me with his *Senators*, the sons played upon me from the *lower house*. Several of the members, *their intimate friends*, wanted to be blessed with a sight of me: one wanted to treat me to a supper, another wanted to shake hands with me, and a third wanted to embrace me. I shall name no names here; but I would advise the members of both houses to be cautious how they keep company with shop-boys and printers devils.

I could mention a thousand instances of their base flattery, but it would look like praising myself in an indirect way. One more, however, I must not omit. Bradford, in endeavouring to prevail on me to continue the Congress Gallery, related a conversation that had taken place between him and Mr. Wolcot, the present Secretary of the Treasury (and thereby hangs another tale which I will tell by-and-by), who assured him that some of the officers of government did intend to write an answer to *Randolph's Vindication*, but that my New Year's Gift had done its business so completely, that nothing further was necessary. He added, that they

they were all exceedingly delighted with my productions.

Again, if he thought my works *dirty water*, how came he to beg and pray for a continuation of them? When I gave his son William a final refusal, he urged, with *tears in his eyes* he urged, the loss his father's credit would sustain by it, and often repeated, that it was not for the sake of the *profit* but the *honour* of publishing my works, that made him so anxious to continue.—My wife was present at this interview, and can, with me, make oath to the truth of what I have here asserted.

Nay, if my works were *dirty water*, why did he threaten to prosecute me for *not continuing them*? Dirty water is not a thing to go to law about. Did ever any body hear of a man's prosecuting another, because he refused to bring him dirty water to throw on the public?

After all this praising, and flattering, and menacing, my poor labours are good for nothing. The writings which had given so much pleasure to Doctor Green, that the Attorney General would have loved me for ever for, that charmed all sexes and all ages, that made grave Senators shake their sides with laughter, and Congress-men want to treat and hug me; that were so highly approved of by the officers of government, that it was an *honour* to publish, and that I was threatened with a prosecution for not continuing; these writings are now become *dirty water*!—Say rather, *sour grapes*.

I must, however, do the Bradfords the justice to say, that they very candidly told me, that every body could perceive a falling off, *after the Congress Gallery*. How singular it was, that I should begin to sink the instant I quitted them! Was this because they did no longer *amend my works* for me, or because they no longer pocketed the cash they produced! The Bradfords are booksellers dyed in
green,

grain. Heaven is with them worth nothing, unless they can get something by it.

With respect to the motives that gave rise to my pamphlets, I have already stated them, and as to their literary merit, though I have no great opinion of it, yet, after having heard them ascribed to Mr. Bond, Mr. Thornton (not the *language maker*, but the secretary to the English ambassador), Dr. Andrews, the Rev. Mr. Bisset, Mr. Lewis, Mr. Sedgewick, Dr. Smith, and, in short, to almost every gentleman of distinguished talents among the friends of the Federal Government, it would be mere grimace for me to pretend, that they have no merit at all. It is something singular, that the democrats never pitched upon any low fellow as the author; their suspicions always alighted among gentlemen of family, and gentlemen of learning. It is therefore too late to decry my performances as tasteless and illiterate, now it is discovered that the author was brought up at the plough tail, and was a few years ago a private soldier in the British army.

To return to my friend Bradford. Though I am ready to admit him as a neutral in all that is said by *Tickletohy*, I cannot do this with regard to what is ushered into the world as the performance of *Samuel F. Bradford*. This *batter-turned-printer*, this sooty-fisted son of ink and urine, whose heart is as black and as foul as the liquid in which he dabbles, must have written, if he did write, at the special instance and request of his father; for, the Lampblack says, "a father's wish is a law with me."

After having premised this, making Bradford responsible for what is contained in his letter and his son's, I shall proceed to remark on such parts of both as I think worth my notice.

And first on the grand discovery of the letter to the *Aurora-Man*.—This is a letter which I wrote to
the

the gazette, under the signature of A Correspondent, against the second part of the Bone to Gnaw. The letter, as now printed by Bradford, may, for ought I know, be a very correct copy. I remember the time and all the circumstances well. Bradford, who is as eager to get money into his hands as he is unwilling to let it out again, repeatedly asked me for a *Puff* to this pamphlet. This very son came to me for it as many as half a dozen times. I at last complied; not that I was unwilling to do it at first (for I had bored the cunning grandchild of the cunning almanack-maker several times before), but I could with difficulty spare time to write it.

Puffs are of several sorts. I believe the one now before us, is what is called a *Puff indirect*, which means, a piece written by an author, or by his desire, against his own performances, thereby to excite opposition, awaken the attention of the public, and so advance the renown or sale of his labours. A *Puff indirect* is, then, what I stand accused of, and as I have no argument at hand to prove the moral fitness of the thing, I must, as pleaders do in all knotty points, appeal to precedents. My authorities are very high, being no other than Addison, Phillips, and Pope.

No one that has read the *Spectator* (and who has not done that?) can have failed to observe, that he published many letters against his own writings, imitating the style and manner of his adversaries, and containing weak arguments, which he immediately overturns in his answer.—Doctor Johnson tells us that, before the acting of PHILLIPS's *Distressed Mother*, a whole *Spectator* was devoted to its praise, and on the first night a select audience was called together to applaud it. The Epilogue to this play was written by Addison, who inserted a letter against it in the *Spectator*, for the sake of giving it a triumphant answer. But, Pope's famous

mous puff is a case exactly in point. "He drew "a comparison," says Dr. Johnson, "of Phillips's "performance with his own, in which, with an "unexampled and unequalled artifice of irony, "though he has himself always the advantage, he "gives the preference to Phillips. The design of "aggrandizing himself he disguised with such "dexterity, that, though Addison discovered it, "Steele was deceived, and was afraid of displeasing Pope by publishing his paper."—Now, what censure does Lord Chief-Justice Johnson (who, God knows, was far from being over lenient) pass on all this? None at all. He calls neither of these authors "*an Imposter*:" nor can I think he would have done so, had their puffs been written *at his request*, and for *his benefit*.

If a puff can ever be construed as an act of meanness, it must be, when its motive is self-interest. This cannot be attributed to me, as I could get nothing by promoting the sale of the work. I had a note of hand for it in my possession; which the number of copies sold could not augment the value of.

What impudence must a man be blessed with, who can usher to the world a puff, which he wishes should be looked upon as something horribly villainous, when he himself requested it to be written, transcribed it himself, and carried it himself for publication?—But here the Bradfords play a double game. "It was not I *transcribed* it," says old Goosy Tom; and "*a father's wish* is a law with me," returns the young Gosling. But, you hissing, web-footed animals, is it not between you?—The puffing for fame belongs to me; but the transcribing and carrying to the press; all the interested part of the business, all the dirty work, lies among yourselves, and so I leave you to waddle and dabble about in it.

Having

Having dismissed the *Puff*, we now come to the *breach of confidence* in publishing it. There are many transactions which we do not look upon as criminal, which, nevertheless, we do not wish to have made public. A lady, in love with a handsome young fellow, may make indirect advances, by the aid of a third person. This is certainly no crime; but should the confidant preserve one of her letters, and afterwards publish it, I presume such confidant would meet with general detestation. This is a parallel case so far; but when to this we add the aggravating circumstance of the confidant being the original adviser of the correspondence, we are at a loss for words to express our abhorrence. Yet we must go still further with respect to Bradford. He has not only divulged what was communicated to him under this pledged secrecy, and at his pressing request, to serve him; but he has been guilty of this scandalous breach of confidence towards a man, to whom he owes, perhaps, that he is not now in jail for debt.

It is easy to perceive what drove him to this act of treachery. Revenge for the statement I had published concerning the *one shilling and seven-pence-half-penny* pamphlet. He could not help fearing that people would resent this by avoiding his shop. He was right enough; for, though I am an Englishman, and of course, a sort of lawful prey to the democrats, yet they, even they, cannot help saying that he is an abominable sharper. To be revenged on me for this, he published the letter, and has thus done what all impotent vindictive men do, injured himself without injuring his adversary. I hinted that he had taken me in, and in return he betrays me: to the reputation of a sharper, he adds that of a villain.

After this, will any one say that I am to blame, if I expose this stupid, this mean, this shabby,
this

this treacherous family? Do they deserve any quarter from me?—Every one says—no, Peter, no.

They say I lived in a garret when first they knew me. They found me sole tenant and occupier of a very good house, No. 81, Callowhill. They say I was poor; and that lump of walking tallow streaked with lampblack, that calls itself *Samuel F. Bradford*, has the impudence to say that my wardrobe consisted of my old regimentals, &c.—At the time the Bradfords first knew me I earned about 140 dollars per month, and which I continued to do for about two years and a half. I taught English to the most respectable Frenchmen in the city, who did not shuffle me off with notes as Bradford did. With such an income I leave the reader to guess whether I had any occasion to go shabbily dressed.—It would look childish to retort here, but let the reader go and ask the women in Callowhill street about the rent in old Bradford's yellow breeches.

The Bradfords have seen others attack me upon my sudden *exaltation*, as they call it: upon my having a book-shop, and all this without any visible means of acquiring it: whence they wish to make people believe that I am paid by the British government. It is excessively base in the Bradfords to endeavour to strengthen this opinion, because they know that I came by my money fairly and honestly. They were never out of my debt, from the moment they published the first pamphlet, which was in August 1794, till the latter end of May last.* They used to put off the payment of their notes from time to time, and they always had at their tongues end;

* At this time they owed me 18 dollars, which had been due for near six months, and which I was at last obliged to take out in books.

" we know you don't want money." And these rascals have now the impudence to say that I was their needy hireling !——'Tis pity, as Tom Jones's Host says, but there should be a hell for such fellows.

It is hinted, and indeed said, in this vile pamphlet, that I have been encouraged by the American government also.—I promised the reader I would tell him a story about Bradford's patriotism, and I will now be as good as my word.—In order to induce me, to continue the Congress Gallery, he informed me, that Mr. *Wolcot* had promised to procure him the printing of the Reports to Congress : " So," added he, " I will print off enough copies for the " members, and so many besides as will be sufficient to place at the end of each of your numbers, " and *Congress will pay for printing the whole !*" He told me he had asked Mr. *Wolcot* for this job, which I looked upon as an indirect way of asking for a bribe, being assured that he built his hopes of succeeding, upon being the publisher of my works.—Now, here's a dog for you, that goes and asks for a government job, presuming solely upon the merit of being the vender of what he, nine months afterwards, calls *dirty water*, and who adds to this an attempt to fix the character of government tool on another man. If I would have continued the Numbers, it is probable he might have printed the Reports : but this I would not do. I wanted no Reports tacked on to the end of my pamphlets : that would have been renewing the punishment of coupling the living to the dead.

Sooty Sam, the Gosling, tells the public that I used to call him a *sans-culotte* and his father a *rebel*. If this be true, I am sure I can call them nothing worse, and therefore I am by no means anxious to contradict him.—But, pray, wise Mister Bradford of the " political [and *bawdy*] book-store," is not this avowal of yours rather calculated to destroy

what you say about my being *an artful and subtle hypocrite*? I take it, that my calling you *rebels* and *sans-culottes* to your faces is no proof of my hypocrisy; nor will the public think it any proof of your *putting a coat upon my back*. Men are generally mean when they are dependant; they do not, indeed they do not, call their patrons *sans-culottes* and *rebels*; nor do people suffer themselves to be so called, unless some weighty motive induces them to put up with it.—This acknowledgment of Bradford's is conclusive: it shows at once on what footing we stood with relation to each other.

He says that I abused many of the most *respectable characters*, by calling them *Speculators*, *Landjobbers*, &c. who were continually seeking to *entrap and deceive foreigners*.—If I did call those men *Speculators* and *Landjobbers*, who are continually seeking to *entrap foreigners*; if I confined myself to such mild terms, I must have been in an extremely good humour. But, young Mister Lampblack, be candid for once and allow me that your father is a sharper. Oh! don't go to deny that now: what every body says must be true.

“How grossly,” says the son, “did you frequently abuse the *People of America*, by asserting that, “for the greater part, they were *Aristocrats* and “*Royalists* in their hearts, and only wore the mask “of hypocrisy to answer their own purposes.”—If young Urine will but agree to leave out *People of America*, and supply its place with, *family of Goosy Tom*, I will own the sentence for mine; and I will tell the public into the bargain, how I came to make use of it.—I entered Bradford's one day, and found him poring over an old book on *heraldry*. I looked at it, and we made some remarks on the orthography. In a few minutes afterwards he asked me if I knew any thing of *the great Bradford family* in England. I replied, no. He then told me that he
had

had just seen a list of new Peers (*English Peers*, reader!) among which was a *Lord Bradford*; and that he suspected that he was of a branch of their family!—As the old women say, you might have knocked me down with a feather. I did not know which way to look. The blush that warmed my cheek for him then, renews itself as I write.—He did not drop it here. He dunned my ears about it half a dozen times; and even went so far as to request me to make inquiries about it, when I wrote home.—It was on this most ludicrous occasion, that I burst out, “Ah, d—n you, I see you are all “*Aristocrats* and *Royalists* in your hearts yet. “Your republicanism is nothing but hypocrisy.” And I dare say the reader will think I was half right.—I wonder what are the armorial signs of Bradford’s family. The crest must be a *Goose*, of course. Instead of scollops and gueules, he may take a couple of printers balls, a keg of lampblack and a jorden. His two great bears of sons (I except William) may serve as supporters, and his motto may be, “*One shilling and seven-pence half-penny for a pamphlet.*” All this will form a pretty good republican coat of arms.

Let it be remembered here too, that my calling the Bradfords *Aristocrats* and hypocrites, does not prove me to be a *hypocrite*, a *needy hireling*, or a *coward*. As to this last term which young Lampblack has conferred on me, it is the blustering noise of a poor timid trembling cock, crowing upon his own dunghill. I hurl his *coward* back to his teeth, with the addition of *fool* and *scoundrel*. I think that is interest enough for one fortnight. The father has served the silly son, as the monkey served the cat, when he took her paw to rake the chesnuts out of the fire with.

They accuse me of being given to *scandal*.—If I had published, or made use of, one hundredth part

of the anecdotes they supplied me with, I should have set the whole city together by the ears. The governor's share alone would fill a volume.—I'll just mention one or two, which will prove, that I am not the first old acquaintance that Bradford has betrayed.—He told me of a judge, who, when he presented him an old account, refused to pay it, as it was *setting a bad example*.—"Ah, righteous judge!" "A Second Daniel!"—He told me, that he went once to breakfast with Mr. Dallas, now Secretary of the State of Pennsylvania, and that Dallas said to him: "By G—d, Tom, we have *no sugar*, and I have not a farthing in the world."—"So," says my Lord Bradford, "I put my hand in my pocket, and tossed the girl a *quarter of a dollar*, and she went out and got some."—Another time, he said, Mr. Dallas's hair-dresser was going to sue him for a few shillings, when he, like a generous friend, stepped in and put a stop to further proceedings, by *buying the debt at a great discount*.—I forget whether he says he was repaid, or not.

These anecdotes he wanted me to make use of; but these, as well as all the others he furnished me with, appeared to me to be brought forth by private malice, and therefore I never made use of any of them. Though, I must confess, that, in one instance in particular, this was a very great act of self-denial.

From Secretaries of State, Judges and Governors, let us come to Presidents.—Don't start, reader, my bookseller knew nothing against General Washington, or he would have told it.—No; we are now going to see a trait of Bradford's republicanism of another kind.—*Marten's Law of Nations*, a work that I translated from the French for Bradford, is dedicated, *by him*, to the President of the United States. The dedication was written by me, notwithstanding the Bradfords were obliged to
amend.

amend my writings. When a proof of it was taken off, old Bradford proposed a fulsome addition to it; “give the old boy a *little more oil*,” said he. This greasing I refused to have any hand in, and notwithstanding I did not *know how to write*, and was a *needy hireling*, My Lord and Master, Bradford, did not think proper to make any alteration, though I could have no reasonable objection, as it was signed with his name.

While the old man was attempting to wheedle the President and the officers of the Federal Government, the son, *Samuel*, was wheedling the French Minister: the Bradfords love a double game dearly. He spent whole evenings with him, or at least he told me so. According to his account they were like two brothers. I cannot blame Mr. Adet, who undoubtedly must have a curiosity to know all the secrets of Bradford’s press. For my part, as soon as I heard of this intimacy, I looked upon myself as being as well known to the French Minister as I was to Bradford.

But, there is a tale connected with this, which must be told, because it will give the lie to all that young Lampblack has said about correcting and altering my works. His design is to make people believe that I was obliged to submit to his prunings. We shall see how this was in a moment. In the New Year’s Gift, speaking of the French Minister, I make use of the following words: “not
“that I doubt his veracity, though his not being
“a *Christian* might be a trifling objection, with
“some weak minded people.”—The old Goosy wanted me to change the word *Christian* for *Protestant*, as he was a good friend, and might be useful to his son. He came himself with the proof sheet, to prevail on me to do this: but if the reader looks into the New Year’s Gift, he will see that I did not yield.

Bradford never prevailed on me to leave out a single word in his life, except a passage in the *Congress Gallery*. "Remember" (says the son in a triumphant manner) "Remember what was erased " from the *Congress Gallery*."—I do remember it, thou compost of die-stuff, lampblack and urine, I do remember it well; and since you have not told all about it, I will.—The passage erased contained some remarks on the indecent and every way unbecoming expression of Mr. Lewis, on the trial of Randall, when he said, that gentlemen would have served *his client* right, if they had *kicked him out of the room*. Bradford told me he had a *very particular reason* for wishing this left out, and as it was not a passage to which I attached much importance, left out it was: but, had I known that his *very particular reason* was, that he had engaged Mr. Lewis as his counsellor in a suit which he had just then commenced against his deceased brother's widow and his own sisters, the passage should not have been left out, for him nor for Mr. Lewis neither. I fear no lawyers.—From this fact we may form a pretty correct idea of the *independence* of Bradford's press, when left to his own conducting.*

I think, the further we go the deeper My Lord Bradford gets in the mire. Let us stop the career, then. Let us dismiss him, his sons, his press and

* Bradford pretends to detect me in a lie about my having *a press*. I have two now at work for me, and the printers are always paid the instant their work is done. Can a Bradford say as much?—He tells me something about my being *obliged* to pay my taxes. To be sure I am; but did any tax-gatherer ever dare clap his hand on any of my goods or chattels? No; but the land of Thomas Bradford; back-land which he got out of the old soldiers, who were fighting last war while he was a sort of jailer: this land was sold last year *by the Sheriff*, and that to pay the *taxes too*—You see, My Lord Bradford, that you have refreshed my memory to some purpose.

his shop, with a remark or two on one more passage of his son's letter. "You" (meaning me) "can" "declaim and scandalize with the greatest hero of" "*Billingsgate*, yet, in sober argument and *chastity*" "of manner, you are a mere *nincompoop*."—The reader must have observed, that Boileau, Roscommon and Pope, in their poetical rules, always convey the precept in an example; so we see here, that young Lampblack gives us an example of the very manner he decries.—But, a word more about *chastity*: not quite in the same sense, though not so far from it as to render the transition very abrupt.—*Chastity* from the pen of a Bradford! *Chastity* I say, from No. 8, South-Front Street! *Chastity* from the *bawdy-book shop*!—I have no pretension to an overstock of modesty or squeamishness. I have served an apprenticeship in the army; yet have I often been shocked to see what the Bradfords sell. Not, perhaps, so much at the obscenity of the books, as at the conduct of the venders. I do not know a traffic so completely infamous as this. In London it is confined to the very scum of the Jews. It is ten times worse than the trade of a bawd: it is pimping for the eyes: it *creates* what the punk does but satisfy when created. These *literary panders* are the purveyors for the bawdy-house.—However, as far as relates to the people in question, the sons are not to blame: "*a father's wish* is a law with them."

I shall conclude with observing, that though Bradford's publication was principally intended to do away the charge of having duped me in the one and seven pence half-penny job, he has left it just as it was. His son, has, indeed, attempted to bewilder the reader by a comparison between the prices of the ensuing pamphlets; but what has this to do with the matter? His father took the *Observations*, was to publish them, and give me half the profits. Long after, many months after, every copy of the

work was sold, I asked him for an account of it, which he brought me in *writing*, and in which my half of the profits was stated at *one shilling and seven pence halfpenny*, or, about *twenty-one cents*.—Now, nothing posterior to this could possibly diminish the barefacedness of the transaction. I did not actually receive the *twenty-one cents*; I threw the paper from me with disdain; nor did I ever receive a farthing for the publication in question from that day to this.

I now take leave of the Bradfords, and of all those who have written against me. Peoples opinions must now be made up concerning them and me. Those who still believe the lies that have been vomited forth against me are either too stupid or too perverse to merit further attention. I will, therefore, never write another word in reply to any thing that is published about myself. Bark away, hell-hounds, till you are suffocated in your own foam. Your labours are preserved, bound up together in a piece of bear-skin, with the hair on, and nailed up to a post in my shop, where whoever pleases may read them gratis.

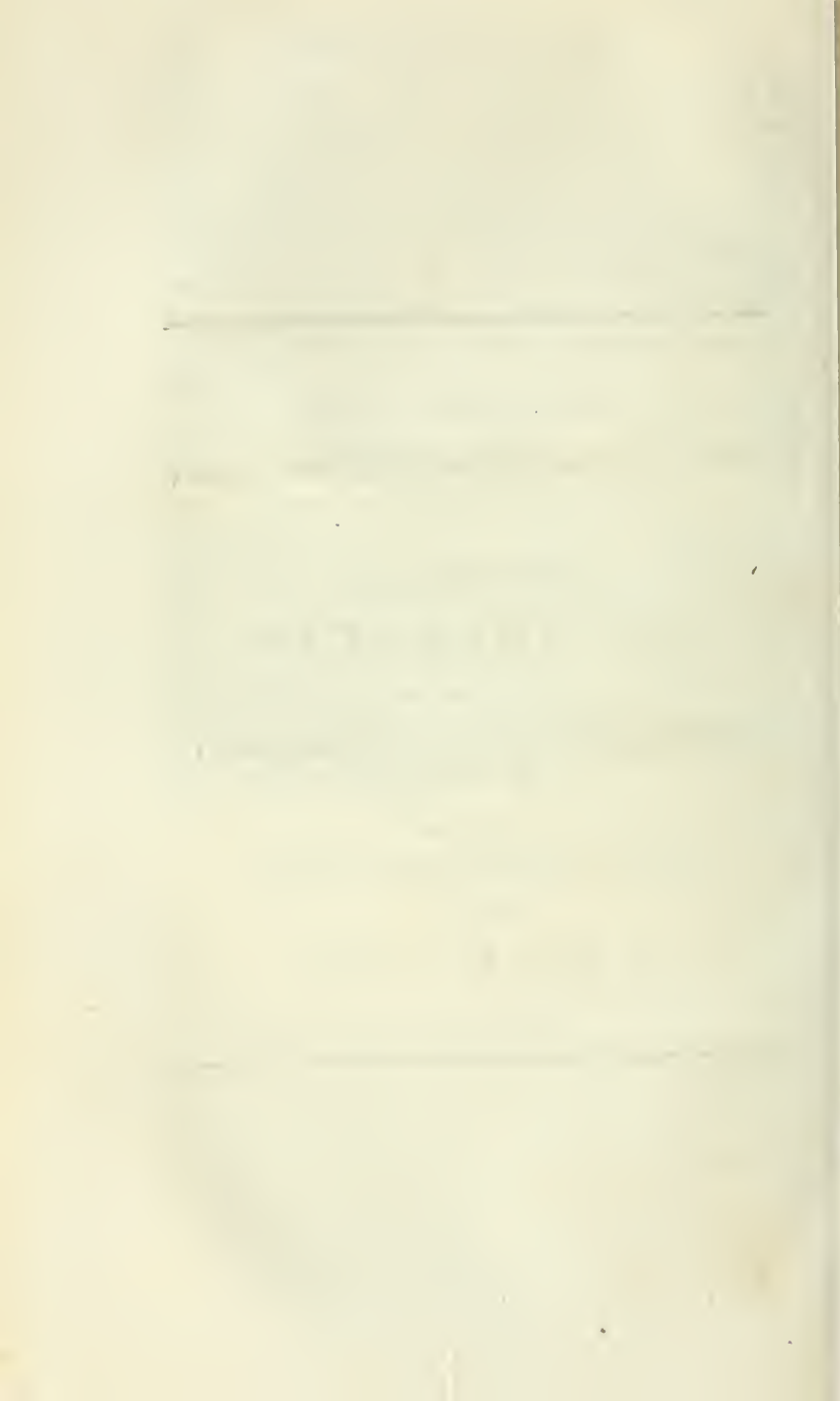
END OF THE CENSOR. NO. V.

THE
GROS MOUSQUETON DIPLOMATIQUE;
OR
DIPLOMATIC
BLUNDERBUSS.

CONTAINING,
CITIZEN ADET'S NOTES TO THE SECRETARY
OF STATE.

AS ALSO HIS
COCKADE PROCLAMATION.

WITH A
P R E F A C E.



P R E F A C E.

WHEN we see an unprincipled, shameless bully, “A dog in forehead, and in heart a deer,” who endeavours, by means of a big look, a threatening aspect, and a thundering voice, to terrify peaceable men into a compliance with what he has neither a right to demand, nor power nor courage to enforce, and who, at the same time, acts in such a bungling, stupid manner, as to excite ridicule and contempt in place of fear; when we see such a gasconading, impudent bluff as this (and that we do every day), we call him a *Blunderbuss*. But, the reader will not, I hope, have conceived me so devoid of all decency and prudence, as to imagine, even for a moment, that it is in this degrading sense that the name of *Blunderbuss* has been given to the invaluable collection which I here present to the public. Indeed, it is so evident that I could mean no such thing, that this declaration seems hardly necessary; but, as my poor old grandmother used to say, “a burnt child dreads the fire,” and after the unrelenting severities of misconception and misconstruction, that a humane and commiserating public have so often seen me endure, they will think it very natural for me to fear, that what I really intended as a compliment, would, if left unexplained,

unexplained, be tortured into insult and abuse, if not into the horrid crime of lèze-republicanism, at the very idea of which my hair stands on end, and my heart dies within me.

"But," cry the Democrats, "in what sense, then, do you apply the word *Blunderbuss*?" "Come, come, Mr. Peter, none of your shuffling."——Silence, you yelping devils; go, growl in your dark kennel; slink into your straw, and leave me to my reader: I'll warrant I explain myself to his satisfaction.

Writings of a hostile nature are often metaphorically expressed, in proportion to the noise they make, by different instruments that act by explosion. Thus it is, for instance, that an impotent lampoon is called a *Popgun*; and that a biting paragraph or epigram, confined to a small circle, is termed a *Squib*; and thus it is, that, rising in due progression, the collection of CITIZEN ADET'S Notes and Cockade Proclamation is denominated a *Blunderbuss*, a species of fire arms that exceeds all others, manageable by a single hand, in the noise of its discharge.

If we pursue the metaphor, we shall find the application still more strikingly happy. The *first Note* is a kind of preparative for the *Cockade Proclamation*, and this latter adjusts matters for the *grand explosion*; or, in the military style—

Make ready!

Present!

Fire!

To be sure we are not dead, but this circumstance, instead of mutilating my metaphor, renders it complete; for of all the long list of fire arms, none is so difficult to adjust, or makes so much noise

noise and smoke, with so little execution, as a *Blunderbuss*.

This is the first time, I believe, that a Preface ever turned its eyes backwards, and talked about the title till there was no room left to say a word about the book. Indeed the book stands in little need of commendation, or of any thing else, except what I am determined shortly to bestow on it, in a manner worthy of its merits.

THE
GROS MOUSQUETON DIPLOMATIQUE;
OR
DIPLOMATIC BLUNDERBUSS.

*The following note was published in Bache's Gazette
of 31st October 1796, without the approbation or
consent of the American Government.*

AUTHENTIC.

THE undersigned minister plenipotentiary of the French Republic, in conformity to the orders of his government, has the honour of transmitting to the secretary of state of the United States, a resolution taken by the executive directory of the French Republic, on the 14th Messidor, 4th year, relative to the conduct which the ships of war of the Republic are to hold towards neutral vessels. The flag of the Republic will treat the flag of neutrals in the same manner as they shall suffer it to be treated by the English.

The sentiments which the American government have manifested to the undersigned minister plenipotentiary, do not permit him to doubt, that they will see in its true light, this measure, as far as it may concern the United States, that it is dictated
by

by imperious circumstances, and approved by justice.

Great Britain, during the war she has carried on against the Republic, has not ceased using every means in her power to add to that scourge, scourges still more terrible. She has used the well known liberality of the French nation to the detriment of that nation. Knowing how faithful France has always been in the observance of her treaties—knowing that it was a principle of the Republic to respect the flag of all nations, the British government, from the beginning of the war, has caused neutral vessels, and in particular American vessels, to be detained, taking them into their ports, and dragged from them Frenchmen and French property.—France, bound by a treaty with the United States, could find only a real disadvantage in the articles of that treaty, which caused to be respected as American property, English property found on board American vessels. They had a right under this consideration, to expect, that America would take steps in favour of her violated neutrality. One of the predecessors of the undersigned, in July 1793, applied on this subject to the government of the United States, but he was not successful. Nevertheless, the National Convention, who by their decree of the 9th May, 1793, had ordered the seizure of enemy's property on board neutral vessels, declaring at the same time, that the measure should cease when the English should respect neutral flags, had excepted, on the 23d of the same month, the Americans from the operation of this general order. But the convention was obliged soon to repeal the law which contained this exception so favourable to Americans.—The manner in which the English conducted themselves—the manifest intentions they had to stop the exportation of provisions from America to France, rendered it unavoidable.

The.

The national convention, by this, had restored the equilibrium of neutrality which England had destroyed—had discharged their duty in a manner justified by a thousand past examples, as well as by the necessity of the then existing moment. They might, therefore, to recal the orders they had given to seize enemy's property on board American vessels, have waited till the British government had first definitively revoked the same order, a suspension only of which was produced by the embargo laid by Congress the 26th of March, 1794. But as soon as they were informed, that, under orders of the government of the United States, Mr. Jay was directed to remonstrate against the vexatary measures of the English, they gave orders, by the law of the 13th Nivôse, 3d year, to the ships of war of the Republic, to respect American vessels; and the committee of public safety, in their explanatory resolve, of the 14th of the same month, hastened to sanction the same principles. The national convention and the committee of public safety had every reason to believe, that this open and liberal conduct would determine the United States to use every effort to put a stop to the vexations imposed upon their commerce, to the injury of the French Republic. They were deceived in this hope—and though the treaty of friendship, commerce, and navigation, between Great Britain and the United States had been signed six weeks before France adopted the measure I have just spoken of, the English did not abandon the plan they had formed, and continued to stop and carry into their ports all American vessels bound to French ports, or returning from them.

This conduct was the subject of a note, which the undersigned addressed, on the 7th Vendémiaire, 4th year, [29th September, 1795, O. S.] to the

secretary of state. The remonstrances which it contained, were founded on the duties of neutrality, upon the principles which Mr. Jefferson had laid down in his letter to Mr. Pinckney, dated the 13th September, 1793. Yet this note has remained without an answer, though recalled to the remembrance of the secretary of state by a dispatch of the 9th Germinal 4th year [29th March, 1796, O. S.] and American vessels, bound to French ports, or returning from them, have still been seized by the English. Indeed more—they have added a new vexation to those they had already imposed upon Americans.—They have impressed seamen from on board American vessels, and have thus found the means of strengthening their crews at the expense of the Americans, without the government of the United States having made known to the undersigned the steps they had taken to obtain satisfaction for this violation of neutrality, so hurtful to the interests of France, as the undersigned had set forth in his dispatches to the secretary of state of the 9th Germinal, 4th year, [29th March, 1796, O. S.] 19th Germinal, [8th April, 1796,] and first Floréal, [20th April, 1796,] which have remained without an answer.

The French government, then, finds itself, with respect to America, at the present time, in circumstances similar to those of 1793; and if it sees itself obliged to abandon, with respect to them and neutral powers in general, the favourable line of conduct they had pursued, and to adopt different measures, the blame should fall upon the British government.—It is their conduct which the French government has been obliged to follow.

The undersigned minister plenipotentiary conceives it his duty to remark to the secretary of state, that the neutral governments of the allies of the Republic

Republic have nothing to fear as to the treatment of their flag by the French, since, if keeping within the bounds of their neutrality, they cause the rights of that neutrality to be respected by the English, the Republic will respect them. But if through weakness, partiality or other motives, they should suffer the English to sport with that neutrality, and turn it to their advantage, could they then complain, when France, to restore the balance of neutrality to its equilibrium, shall act in the same manner as the English? No, certainly; for the neutrality of a nation consists in granting to belligerent powers the same advantages, and that neutrality no longer exists, when, in the course of the war, that neutral nation grants to one of the belligerent powers, advantages not stipulated by treaties anterior to the war, or suffers that power to seize upon them. The neutral government cannot then complain if the other belligerent power will enjoy advantages which its enemy enjoys, or, if it seizes on them; otherwise that neutral government would deviate, with respect to it, from the line of neutrality and would become its enemy.

The undersigned minister plenipotentiary thinks it useless further to develope these principles. He does not doubt that the secretary of state feels all their force, and that the government of the United States will maintain from all violation a neutrality which France has always respected, and will always respect when her enemies do not make it turn to her detriment.

The undersigned minister plenipotentiary embraces this opportunity of reiterating to the secretary of state the assurances of his esteem, and informs him, at the same time, that he will cause this note to be printed, in order to make publicly known

the motives which, at the present juncture, influences the French Republic.

Done at Philadelphia, 6th Brumaire, 4th year
of the French Republic, one and indivisible,
(27th October, 1796.)

(Signed)

P. A. ADET.

Extract from the Register of Resolves of the Executive Directory, of the 14th Messidor, 4th year of the French Republic, one and indivisible.

The executive directory, considering, that if it becomes the faith of the French nation to respect treaties or conventions which secure to the flags of some neutral or friendly powers, commercial advantages, the result of which is to be common to the contracting powers: the same advantages (if they should turn to the benefit of our enemies, either through the weakness of our allies or of neutrals, or through fear, through interested views, or through whatever motives) would *ipso facto* warrant the inexecution of the articles in which they were stipulated :

*Decree as follows :—*All neutral or allied powers shall, without delay, be notified, that the flag of the French Republic will treat neutral vessels, either as to confiscation, as to searches, or capture, in the same manner as they shall suffer the English to treat them.

The minister of foreign relations is charged with the execution of the present resolve, which shall not be printed.

A true Copy,
(Signed)

CARNOT, President.

AMERICAN

AMERICAN STATE PAPER.

Department of State, November 1st, 1796.

SIR,

I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your note of the 27th ult. covering a decree of the executive directory of the French Republic, concerning the commerce of neutral nations.

This decree makes no distinction between neutral powers who can claim only the rights secured to them by the laws of nations, and others, between whom and the French Republic, treaties have imposed special obligations. Where no treaties exist, the Republic by seizing and confiscating the property of their enemies found on board neutral vessels, would only exercise an acknowledged right under the law of nations. If towards such neutral nations, the French Republic has forbore to exercise this right, the forbearance has been perfectly gratuitous. The United States, by virtue of their treaty of commerce with France, stand on different ground.

In the year 1778, France voluntarily entered into a commercial treaty with us, on principles of perfect reciprocity, and expressly stipulating *that free ships should make free goods*. That is, if France should be at war with any nation with whom the United States should be at peace, the goods (except contraband) and the persons of her enemies (soldiers in actual service excepted) found on board the vessels of the United States, were to be free from capture. That, on the other hand, if the United States should engage in war with any nation, while France remained at peace, then the goods (except contraband) and the persons of our enemies (soldiers in actual service excepted) found on board French vessels,

vessels, were also to be free from capture. This is plainly expressed in the twenty-third article of that treaty ; and demonstrates that the reciprocity thereby stipulated, was to operate at *different periods*, that is, at one time in favour of one of the contracting parties, and of the other at another time. At the present time, the United States being at peace, they possess by the treaty, the right of carrying the goods of the enemies of France without subjecting them to capture. But what do the spirit of the decree of the executive directory and the current of your observations require ? That the United States should now gratuitously renounce this right. And what reason is assigned for denying to us the enjoyment of this right ? Your own words furnish the answer. “ France *bound by treaty* to the United States, *could find only a real disadvantage* in the articles of that treaty which caused to be respected as American property, English property found on board American vessels.”—This requisition, and the reason assigned to support it, alike excite surprise. The American government, Sir, conscious of the purity of its intentions, of its impartial observance of the laws of neutrality, and of its inviolable regard to treaties, cannot, for a moment admit, that it has forfeited the right to claim a reciprocal observance of stipulations on the part of the French Republic ; whose friendship moreover, it has ever cultivated with perfect sincerity. This right, formerly infringed by a decree of the national convention, was recognized anew by the repeal of that decree. Why it should be again questioned, we are at a loss to determine. We are ignorant of any new restraints on our commerce by the British government ; on the contrary, we possess recent official information, *that no new order has been issued*. The captures made by the British, of American vessels having French property on board,

board, are warranted by the law of nations. The force and operation of this law was contemplated by France and the United States, when they formed their treaty of commerce: and their special stipulation on this point was meant as an exception to an universal rule. Neither our weakness nor our strength, have any choice, when the question concerns the observance of a known rule of the law of nations.

You are pleased to remark, that the conduct of Great Britain in capturing American vessels bound to and from French ports, had been the subject of a note, which on the 29th of September, 1793, you addressed to the secretary of state, but which remained without an answer. Very sufficient reasons may be assigned for the omission. The subject, in all its respects, had been already officially and publicly discussed, and the principles and ultimate measures of the United States, founded upon their indisputable rights, were as publicly fixed. But if the subject had not, by the previous discussions, been already exhausted, can it be a matter of surprise, that there should be a repugnance to answer a letter containing such insinuations as these? —“ It must then be clear to every man, who will
 “ discard prejudices, love, hatred, and in a word,
 “ all the passions which lead the judgment astray,
 “ that the French Republic would have a right to
 “ complain, if the American government suffered
 “ the English to interrupt the commercial relations,
 “ which exist between her and the United States: if by a *perfidious condescension*, it permitted the English to violate a right which it
 “ ought *for its own honour and interest* to defend; if under the *cloak of neutrality*, it presented to England a poignard to cut the throat of
 “ its faithful ally; if, in fine, *partaking in the tyrannical and homicidal rage of Great Britain*, it
 “ concurred to plunge the people of France into the
 “ horrors

“ horrors of famine.” For the sake of preserving harmony, silence was preferred to a comment upon the e insinuations.

You are also pleased to refer to your letters of March and April last, relative to impresses of American seamen by British ships, and complain, that the government of the United States had not made known to you the steps they had taken to obtain satisfaction. This, Sir, was a matter, which concerned only that government. As an independent nation, we were not bound to render an account to any other, of the measures we deemed proper for the protection of our own citizens ; so long as there was not the slightest ground to suspect that the government ever acquiesced in any aggression.

But permit me to recur to the subject of the decree of the executive directory.

As before observed, we are officially informed, that the British government have issued no new orders for capturing the vessels of the United States. We are also officially informed, that on the appearance of the notification of that decree, the minister of the United States at Paris applied for information “ whether orders were issued for the seizure of neutral vessels ; and was informed that “ no such order was issued, and further, that none “ such would be issued, in case the British did not “ seize our vessels.” This communication from the minister of the United States at Paris to their minister in London, was dated the 28th of August. But the decree of the directory bears date the 14th Messidor, answering to the second of July. These circumstances, together with some observations in your note, leave the American government in a state of uncertainty of the real intentions of the government of France. Allow me then to ask, whether, in the actual state of things, our commerce is considered as liable to suffer any new restrictions

restrictions on the part of the French Republic? Whether the restraints now exercised by the British government are considered as of a nature to justify a denial of those rights, which are pledged to us by our treaty with your nation? Whether orders have been actually given to the ships of war and privateers of the French Republic, to capture the vessels of the United States? And what, if they exist, are the precise terms of those orders?

These questions, Sir, you will see, are highly interesting to the United States. It is with extreme concern, that the government finds itself reduced to the necessity of asking an explanation of this nature, and if it shall be informed, that a new line of conduct is to be adopted towards this country, on the ground of the decree referred to, its surprise will equal its regret, that principles should now be questioned, which, after repeated discussions both here and in France, have been demonstrated to be founded, as we conceive, on the obligations of impartial neutrality, of stipulations by treaty, and of the law of nations—I hope, Sir, you will find it convenient, by an early answer, to remove the suspense in which the government of the United States is now held on the questions above stated.

I shall close this letter by one remark on the singularity of your causing the publication of your note. As it concerned the United States, it was properly addressed to its government, to which alone pertained the right of communicating it, in such time and manner as it should think fit, to the citizens of the United States.

I am, Sir, with great respect,
your most obedient servant,

TIMOTHY PICKERING.

To M. ADET, Minister Plenipotentiary of the French Republic.

COCKADE

COCKADE PROCLAMATION.

From the Aurora, of 5th November, 1796.

AUTHENTIC.

*The Minister Plenipotentiary of the French Republic,
near the United States of America, to the French
Citizens who reside or travel in the said United
States.*

CITIZENS,

FROM the dawn of our revolution, the tri-coloured cockade has been the rallying point of those energetic men, whose generous efforts gave the first blows to arbitrary power. At their call, the French nation, bent for centuries under the yoke, shook off that long drowsiness, twenty-four millions of men adopted that august symbol, they exclaimed, "we shall be free," and all opposition was defeated, and the throne tumbled down in the dust, and all Europe armed against them has been vanquished.

The Republic decorates all her citizens with those national colours, the sacred symbol of liberty which they have won.

Frenchmen who are absent from their native land, ought not, amidst nations allied with theirs, to lay aside the distinctive mark which, by making them known, secures to them the protection and reciprocal respect guaranteed by our treaties with those nations.

Those

Those who, from a guilty indifference, should slight that right, exempt themselves from that duty—those could lay no claim to that protection, they would renounce the support of the agents of the Republic. But, citizens, I am persuaded, that at the call of the minister of the French Republic, you will hasten to put on the symbol of a liberty, which is the fruit of eight years toils and privations, and of five years victories.

Thus, you will draw a line of demarkation between you and those contemptible beings, whose unfeeling hearts are callous to the sacred name of native land, to the noble pride with which the freeman is animated by the sense of his independence.

Thus, you will signalize those still more degraded beings, who being sold to the enemies of the Republic, drag from clime to clime, a life overwhelmed with misery and contempt—wretches whom history will not call to remembrance, except to perpetuate their disgrace.

The use of the French chanceries, the national protection, will not be granted to any Frenchman but those, who, perfectly sensible of the dignity attached to the title of citizen, shall take a pride in wearing constantly the tri-coloured cockade. The executive directory of the French Republic have pronounced thus. Being the organ of their decisions, I communicate them with pleasure to my fellow-citizens. As for those who, although Frenchmen born, have ceased to be Frenchmen, I do not speak to them; the public voice will inform them of their exclusion.

Done at Philadelphia, the 12th Brumaire, the fifth year of the French Republic, one and indivisible.

(Signed) P. A. ADET.

From

From the Aurora, of 16th November, 1796.

AUTHENTIC.

Le Citoyen P. A. ADET prévient ses concitoyens, que par ordre du directoire exécutif il a aujourd'hui notifié à M. Le SECRÉTAIRE D'ÉTAT la suspension des fonctions de ministre plénipotentiaire de la République Française, près des États-Unis d'Amérique, et qu'en conséquence de ladite suspension, ils doivent, à partir de ce jour, adresser leurs demandes, ou réclamations, au consul-général, ou aux consuls particuliers de la République.

A Philadelphie, le 25 Brumaire, l'an 5eme de la République Française, une et indivisible (le 15 Novembre, 1796, *V. S.*)

P. A. ADET.

TRANSLATION.

Citizen P. A. ADET informs his fellow-citizens, that by order of the executive directory, he has this day notified to the SECRETARY OF STATE, the suspension of the functions of the minister plenipotentiary of the French Republic, near the United States of America; and, that in consequence of the said suspension, they must from this day, address their demands or claims to the consul general of the Republic, or to the consuls of particular places.

At Philadelphia, the 25th Brumaire, the 5th year of the French Republic, one and indivisible, (the 15th of November, 1796, *O. S.*)

By

By the notification signed P. A. ADÉT, in this day's paper, it appears, that the minister of the French Republic has, by order of his government, suspended his ministerial functions here. Mr. ADÉT's note, communicating this determination, has been handed *to us* [*Bache*] for publication. Its length prevents its immediate publication; but, to satisfy the impatience of the public, we shall give in a day or two, a sketch of its contents. The dissatisfaction of the French government, at the conduct of our executive towards them, is the ground of the measure.

From the Aurora, of 21st November, 1796.

AUTHENTIC.

Translation of a Note from the Minister of the French Republic, to the Secretary of State of the United States.

Legation of Philadelphia.

The undersigned minister plenipotentiary of the French Republic, now fulfils to the secretary of state of the United States, a painful but sacred duty. He claims, in the name of American honour, in the name of the faith of treaties, the execution of that contract which assured to the United States their existence, and which France regarded as the pledge of the most sacred union between two people, the freest upon earth: In a word, he announces to the secretary of state, the resolution of a government, terrible to its enemies, but generous to its allies.

It

It would have been pleasing to the undersigned minister plenipotentiary, to have only to express, on the present occasion, the attachment which his government bears to the American people, the vows which it forms for their prosperity, for their happiness. His heart therefore is grieved at the circumstances which impose upon him a different task. With regret, he finds himself compelled to substitute the tone of reproach for the language of friendship. With regret also, his government has ordered him to take that tone ; but that very friendship has rendered it indispensable. Its obligations sacred to men, are as sacred to governments ; and if a friend offended by a friend, can justly complain, the government of the United States, after the undersigned minister plenipotentiary shall have traced the catalogue of grievances of the French Republic, will not be surprised to see the executive directory manifesting their too just discontents.

When Europe rose up against the Republic at its birth, menaced it with all the horrors of war and of famine ; when on every side the French could not calculate upon any but enemies, their thoughts turned towards America ; a sweet sentiment then mingled itself with those proud sentiments, which the presence of danger and the desire of repelling it produced in their hearts. In America, they saw friends. Those who went to brave tempests and death upon the ocean, forgot all dangers in order to indulge the hope of visiting that American continent, where, for the first time, the French colours had been displayed in favour of liberty. Under the guarantee of the law of nations, under the protecting shade of a solemn treaty, they expected to find in the ports of the United States, an asylum as sure as at home ; they thought, if I may use the expression, there to find a second country. The French government thought as they did.

did. Oh ! hope, worthy of faithful people, how hast thou been deceived ! So far from offering to the French the succours which friendship might have given without compromising it, the American government, in this respect, violated the letter of treaties.

The 17th article of the treaty of amity and commerce of 1778, states, that French vessels of war, and those of the United States, as well as those which shall have been armed for war by individuals of the two States, may freely conduct where they please, the prizes they shall have made upon their enemies, without being subject to any admiralty or other duty ; without the said vessels, on entering into the harbours or ports of France, or of the United States, being liable to be arrested or seized, or the officers of those places taking cognizance of the validity of the said prizes : which may depart and be conducted freely, and in full liberty to the places expressed in their commissions, which the captains of the said vessels shall be obliged to show : and that on the contrary, no shelter or refuge shall be given to those who shall have made prizes upon the French, or Americans ; and that if they should be forced by stress of weather, or the danger of the sea to enter, they shall be made to depart as soon as possible.

In contempt of these stipulations, the French privateers have been arrested in the United States, as well as their prizes : the tribunals have taken cognizance of the validity or invalidity of those prizes. It were vain to seek to justify these proceedings under the pretext of the right of vindicating the compromised neutrality of the United States. The facts about to be stated, will prove, that this pretext has been the source of shocking persecutions against the French privateers, and that the conduct of the federal government has been but
a series

a series of violations of the 17th article of the treaty of 1778.

On the 4th of August, 1793, a circular letter of the secretary of the treasury was sent to all the collectors of the customs. It accompanied regulations adopted by the president, prohibiting all armaments in favour of the belligerent powers. These regulations immediately acquired the force of law, and the agents of the government, and the tribunals concurred in their execution. They gave them a retrospective effect, and caused to be seized, in the ports of the United States, the armed vessels and prizes which had come in prior to that time. But even before these regulations, adopted by the president, had established any rule whatever upon the prohibition of armaments, the tribunals had already, by order of the government, assumed the cognizance of prizes made by French vessels. (No. 1.) One of the predecessors of the undersigned protested against this, but in vain. The tribunals still continued their prosecutions.

On the 3d of December, 1793, the president asked of Congress, a law confirming the measures contained in the letter from the secretary of the treasury, above mentioned. (No. 2.) This law was passed the 5th June, 1794. What was its result? In consequence of this law, the greater part of the French privateers had been arrested, as well as their prizes, not upon formal depositions, not upon established testimony, not upon a necessary body of proofs, but upon the simple information of the consul of one of the powers at war with the French Republic, frequently upon that of sailors of the enemy powers, sometimes according to the orders of the governors, but often upon the demand of the district attorneys, who assert, upon principles avowed by the government, (No. 3.) that their conviction was sufficient to authorize them, without

out complaint or regular information, to cause the privateers to be prosecuted, in virtue of the law above mentioned. (No. 4.)

When the ministers of the Republic have asked justice of the government for the vexations experienced by the privateers, in contempt of the 17th article of the treaty, they have never been able to obtain satisfaction.

Thus, when on the 9th Fructidor, 3d year, (26th August, 1794) the predecessor of the undersigned, addressed a complaint to the government on this subject, the secretary of state answered, on the 3d September, 1794, by a phrase indicative of delay.

Thus, when the same minister on the 27th Vendémiaire, 3d year (17th October, 1794), reminded the secretary of state of the means he had proposed to him, for putting an end to the measures adopted against the French privateers; when he caused him to see that this means, which consisted in requiring security from those who claimed the prizes as illegal, would prevent the enemies of the Republic from instituting so many suits, of which they themselves perceived the injustice; he obtained no other answer than that his proposition relative to securities was inadmissible.

When on the 13th Floréal, 3d year, the same minister expressed himself in these terms, in a letter to the secretary of state: " You have alleged, " Sir, that the executive of the United States cannot interfere in the affairs of which the tribunals " have taken cognizance. In admitting this objection for all the business now in suit, I do not " the less think that your government could by " general measures, bring back the jurisdiction of " the American tribunals, concerning prizes made " by our vessels, within the limits prescribed by " our treaties, which make part of the supreme

“ law of the land : it might make known that the
“ facility with which your courts of admiralty ad-
“ mit, without distinction, all the chicanery which
“ our enemies create against us, in the present war,
“ is evidently contrary to the spirit of the treaty.”
The government paid no attention to these reflections, and the answer of the secretary of state, merely notices the particular fact which had occasioned the note of Citizen Fauchet.

What was the undersigned minister plenipotentiary able to obtain in the affair of the *Cassius* and of the *Vengeance*? Nothing.

The government of the United States must have seen however, by the claims which the ministers of the Republic addressed to it, and by the great number of facts, of which it has had a knowledge, how much the execution of the measures of the president, and of the law of the 5th June, 1794, was contrary to the 17th article of the treaty; how much the agency of the tribunals, who ought not to have any cognizance of the validity or invalidity of prizes, tended to annul that article, and to deprive the Republic of the advantage which it assures to her. In fact, was it not evident, that when the powers at war with the Republic had the privilege, in virtue of the law of the 5th of June, 1794, of causing to be arrested the privateers and their prizes, of detaining them in the ports of the United States, of ruining them by considerable costs, by the excessive expenses which they occasioned them, they drew from that privilege an immense advantage, to the detriment of France? Doubtless it was of little import to them, that sometimes the privateers obtained justice, in the last resort, if they detained the privateer for a length of time, and if they, by that means, sheltered from their pursuit the commerce of the enemy of France. The neutrality of the United States, in this case was altogether

gether to their advantage ; and the federal government, on seeing this state of things, should, out of respect to its neutrality and to treaties, solicit from the Congress the means of conciliating the duties of the former with the obligations of the latter.

The government very well knew how to solicit the law of the 5th of June, 1794, when that law was to bear on France alone, when it gave to the tribunals a right which has been abused, and which enables them to decide upon prizes : why, on seeing the inconveniences of this law, has it not endeavoured to remedy them ? Should it wait to be solicited on this head ? Should it not anticipate all claims, and when those were presented by the ministers of the Republic, should it not do justice ?

Besides, if the government had been impartial, as it has pretended to be, it would not have adopted that slow and circuitous mode, so favourable to the enemies of France, for deciding the cases relative to its neutrality ; it would have preferred the measures proposed by Mr. Jefferson, on the 25th of June, 1793, to the minister of the Republic : these measures were simple, they were in conformity with the duties of neutrality, and the interests of the Republic.

The federal government had decided questions which interested its neutrality, upon informations furnished by the state governors and the agents of the Republic ; the prizes remained in the hands of the French consul, until this decision took place ; the stipulations of the 17th article of the treaty of 1778, were not violated ; and the government at the same time satisfied the obligations of duty and justice. In vain would it say, that it had not this power. Notwithstanding the law of the 5th June, 1794, giving to the tribunal the right of taking cognizance of cases in which neutrality had been violated, did not the president on the 21st of June,

1794, decide that the ship William, taken out of the limits of the waters of the United States, should be delivered to the captor; and on the 3d of July, 1794, did he not decide that the Pilgrim had been taken in the waters of the United States, and that of course she should be given up to the owners? In these cases the president not only decided on matters, the cognizance of which had been consigned to the tribunals, but likewise gave a retrospective effect to his own decision upon the protecting line of the United States, which was not notified to the minister of the Republic, till the 8th of November, 1793.

Not satisfied with permitting the 17th article of the treaty to be violated by its agents and tribunals, the federal government also suffered the English to avail themselves of advantages interdicted to them by that article. They armed in the ports of the United States, brought in, and repaired their prizes, and, in a word, found in them a certain asylum.

Thus the English privateer Trusty, Capt. Hall, was armed at Baltimore to cruise against the French, and sailed notwithstanding the complaints of the consul of the Republic. At Charleston, one Bermudian vessel, several English vessels, and one Dutch vessel, from the 24th May to the 6th June 1793, took in cannon for their defence, and sailed without opposition.

What answer did the government give to the representations of the minister of the French Republic in this respect? He said that these vessels sailed so suddenly, it was not able to have them arrested. But the treaty was not the less violated. Some of the inhabitants of the United States had aided in these illegal armaments: what measures were taken against them? Was any search made to discover them, to prosecute them? Never; and yet

yet the government of the United States no sooner learned that, in consequence of an implied stipulation which the treaty of Versailles seemed to contain, the French were arming in the ports of the United States, than the most energetic orders were sent for stopping these armaments. Even citizens of the United States were imprisoned upon suspicion that they had participated in them. The minister cannot omit citing here the following passage of a letter from the secretary of state, Edmund Randolph, to Mr. Hammond, dated 2d June 1794.

“ On a suggestion that citizens of the United States had taken part in the act, [he speaks of the armaments in the United States] one who was designated, was instantly committed to prison for prosecution : one or two others have been since named and committed in like manner, and should it appear, that there were still others, no measures would be spared to bring them to justice.” What more could the American government do in favour of the English, if they had a similar treaty to that with France, and had been sole possessors of the advantages assured to her by positive stipulations?

However, in contempt of these very stipulations, the *Argonaut*, an English ship of war, in January 1795, conducted into Lynnhaven bay, the French corvette *L'Espérance*, which she had taken upon the coast ; she there had her repaired, in order to send her on a cruise. Letters were in consequence written by the secretary of state to the governor of Virginia and to Mr. Hammond. What was the result ? Nothing. On the 29th of May 1795, the federal government had not yet done any thing positive as to the acts which produced the complaint of the minister of the Republic. The secretary of state announced, “ that these facts shall be examined, and if they are verified, the federal go-

“vernment will not be in the rear of its obligations.” To that has the reparation demanded by the Republic been limited.

What are we to think of these delays, when we see the officers of the government acting with so much activity against the French, on the slightest suspicion that they have violated the neutrality—when in his letter of 29th April 1794, the secretary of state answers the complaints of the English minister—“We have received no intelligence of the particular facts to which you refer: but to prevent all unnecessary circuitry in first inquiring into them, and next transmitting to this city the result, the proper instructions will be given to act, without further directions.” How did the federal government conduct itself towards the autumn of 1794? The English frigate *Terpsichore* took the privateer *La Montagne* in the port of Norfolk. The French vice-consul claimed the execution of the treaty of the governor of Virginia: the governor answered him, that he would have the necessary investigation made, and would afterwards take the proper measures. The predecessor of the undersigned then interposed with the federal government; and the secretary of state assured him, that he wrote to the governor of Virginia to have justice rendered. But this justice was limited to investigations made with such slowness, that five months after, this affair was not finished; and on the 24th February, 1795, the secretary of state contented himself with sending to the predecessor of the undersigned, the dispatches of the lieutenant-governor, dated 10th October, 1794, by which he announces that he ordered the commandant of the militia of Norfolk to make the necessary inquiries for enabling the executive of Virginia, to render to the Republic the justice it had a right to expect. The result of these inquiries

quiries is not known. However, the fact about which the minister Fauchet complained to the secretary of state was notorious, and painful researches were not necessary to convince himself of it. Do we not find in this proceeding a formal desire to elude the treaties, and to favour the English?

If the government of the United States had wished to maintain itself in that impartiality which its duties prescribed, if it had wished freely to execute the treaties, it would not have waited every time that the English infringed them, for the minister to solicit its justice: should it not have given instructions so precise, that the governors of the states and subaltern officers of the federal government might know what duties they had to fulfil, in order to maintain the execution of treaties? Why have the most energetic orders (such as the secretary of state, Randolph, mentions) been given, when the support of the neutrality, inviolate in favour of the English, came in question? Why have the measures taken by the federal government operated with so much slowness when France was interested? Why? in fine, have the multiplied claims of her ministers never produced the redress of the grievances of which they complained?

When the predecessor of the undersigned minister plenipotentiary claimed the execution of the 17th article of the treaty, interdicting the entry into the American ports of English vessels which should have made prizes upon the French, when he cited this simple and formal stipulation: "On
 " the contrary, neither asylum nor refuge shall be
 " given in the ports or harbours of France, or of
 " the United States, to vessels which shall have
 " made prizes of the French or Americans; and
 " should they be obliged to enter by tempest, or
 " danger of the sea, all proper means shall be used
 " to make them depart as soon as possible;" the

secretary of state, in order to avoid shutting the American ports against the English, interrupted this article in their favour. " But it would be uncandid to conceal from you the construction which we have hitherto deemed the true one. The first part of the 17th article relates to French ships of war and privateers entering our ports with their prizes ; the second contracts the situation of the enemies of France, by forbidding such as shall have made prize of the French ; intimating from this connexion of the two clauses, that the vessels forbidden are those which bring their prizes with them. It has been considered that this section of the treaty was impartially destined to the withholding of protection, or succour, to the prizes themselves ; had it been otherwise, it would have been superfluous, to have prohibited from sailing what they have taken in the ports of the United States."

He said, moreover, in his letter of the 29th of May, 1795—" But on the 3d of August the president declared his construction of that treaty to be, that no public armed vessels were thereby forbidden from our waters, except those which should have made prize of the people or property of France coming with their prizes." But how is it possible to find, in the stipulations of the treaty, the sense given to them by the government of the United States ? This expression of the treaty, " which shall have made prizes," is general, and applies to all capturing vessels, whether they enter the ports of the United States with prizes, or enter them alone, after having made prizes. It is evident, that the government adds to the letter of the treaty in this circumstance ; and is it not astonishing, that it admits a construction of the treaty, when it expects to find a meaning disadvantageous to France, and in other instances opposes all construction,

tion, when this would be favourable to the Republic. But has it the right of construing the treaty, of changing, of its own accord, the sense of a clear and precise stipulation, without the consent and concurrence of the other contracting party? Doubtless not; especially, when, by so doing, it wounds her interests.

The secretary of state, by the 22d article, pretends to support his construction of the 17th article. What does this 22d article contain? A prohibition of the enemies of France and of the United States from arming in the respective ports of the two powers, of selling their prizes, or of discharging all or part of their cargo there. This article, therefore, applies to the prizes; whilst the 17th applies to the capturing vessels. Did it not exist, the enemies of France or of the United States, might send their prizes into the respective ports of the two powers, without conducting them there themselves: the 17th article, containing only a prohibitory arrangement for the capturing vessels, could not prohibit them from doing this. It was necessary then to have recourse to a formal prohibition: besides, as the vessels which have made prizes on the French or Americans, are admitted into the ports of France or of the United States, in cases of tempest or dangers of the sea, they might, in this case, have conceived themselves authorized to dispose of their prizes, to sell them, or to discharge their cargoes; it was necessary, therefore, to take this right from them in a positive manner; it was necessary to prevent them from benefitting by a stipulation made in favour of humanity: this is the end answered by the 22d article, which is not superfluous, as the secretary of state maintains; but, on the contrary, contains a distinct stipulation from that of the 17th. It is then evident from this, that in the cases above
cited

cited by the undersigned, the stipulations of the 17th article have been violated. They have been equally so, by the admission, in sundry ports, of the *Thetis* and *Hussar* frigates, which captured *la Prévoyante* and *la Raison*, French store-ships, and by admitting, in the last instance, this same ship *la Raison*, prize to the *Thetis*, into the ports of the United States.

But admitting, for a moment, the construction gratuitously given by the secretary of state to the 17th article of the treaty of 1778; this article has not the less been violated, when the *Argonaut*, which had quitted Hampton roads in order to capture *l'Espérance*, was permitted to enter with that prize; when the *Terpsichore* was suffered to bring in the privateer *la Montagne*. In vain were sought, in the resources of a captious and false logic, the means of excusing such conduct. The facts speak, and every upright mind, not blinded by passion, will necessarily yield to their evidence. Yet the prohibitory stipulation of the admission of prizes made by her enemies, is the only advantage which France expected to enjoy, after having wrought and guaranteed the independence of the United States, at a time when she might, as the price of that very independence, have granted them less liberal conditions.

These wrongs of the American government towards the Republic, just stated by the undersigned minister plenipotentiary, will soon be aggravated by new ones. It was a little matter only to allow the English to avail themselves of the advantages of our treaty; it was necessary to assure these to them by the aid of a contract, which might serve at once as a reply to the claims of France, and as peremptory motives for refusals, the true cause of which it was requisite incessantly to disguise to her under specious prettexts.

Such

Such was the object of Mr. Jay's mission to London; such was the object of a negotiation, enveloped from its origin in the shadow of mystery, and covered with the veil of dissimulation. Could the executive directory have any other idea of it, on examining its issue, on seeing all the efforts made by the American government to conceal the secret from every eye?

In his message to the senate of the 16th April, 1794, the president declared, that Mr. Jay was sent to London only to obtain a redress of the wrongs done to the United States; at the same time the secretary of state communicated to the predecessor of the undersigned, a part of the instructions to Mr. Jay, reminding him of the *intention of the American government not to deviate from its engagements with the Republic of France*. The French minister, deceived by this communication, contributed ingenuously to deceive his government. The American minister in France removed the fears of the French government, as to the mission of this envoy extraordinary, and represented it as the only means of obtaining indemnification for the losses which the American commerce had sustained. What has this negotiation produced? A treaty of amity and commerce, which deprives France of all the advantages stipulated in a previous treaty.

In fact, all that could render the neutrality profitable to England and injurious to France is combined in this treaty. Her commercial relations with the United States are entirely broken, by the abandonment of the modern public law on contraband, a law which England had consecrated in eleven treaties, and which the Americans had also consecrated in their treaties with France, Holland, Sweden, and Prussia. From the new arrangements adopted by the United States with regard to England,

land, the free carriage of the articles for the equipment and armament of vessels, is granted exclusively to that power.

By the 23d article of the treaty of Versailles, the United States have the liberty of freely carrying on commerce with the enemies of France. The 24th article of the treaty with Holland, the 10th article of the treaty with Sweden, and the 13th article of the treaty with Prussia, contain the same stipulation. This last article gives even more extensive rights to the United States, by permitting them to carry to the enemies of this power, all the articles that are enumerated in the list of such as are contraband of war, without their being liable to confiscation. But by the 18th article of the treaty of London, the articles for arming and equipping vessels are declared contraband of war. The government of the United States has therefore, by this stipulation, granted to the English a right which they had refused, in consequence of the modern public law, to other nations with whom they have made treaties; that of seizing on board their vessels, articles proper for the construction and equipment of vessels. The English, then, according to that, enjoy the exclusive commerce of articles proper for the construction of vessels; yet prior to the treaty concluded between John Jay and Lord Grenville, the United States had the right of carrying on commerce with every power: the partiality of the American government in favour of England, has therefore been such, that not only the interests of France, but also those of other states, have been sacrificed to her.

In vain will it be objected that France, having the right by her treaty of 1778, to enjoy all the advantages in commerce and navigation, which the United States have granted to England, is not injured by the stipulations of the treaty of

1794, relative to contraband of war, as they become common to her. But the right secured to her by the second article of the treaty of 1778, does not at all extend to the allies whom the success of her arms, and the just resentment, inspired by the ambition of England, have definitively given and shall give to her in Europe. These dispositions change, during the course of the war, the situation of the United States, towards England and the belligerent powers allied to France; the interest of these powers is common to France; and from the moment that is injured, France is injured also.

After having assured to the English the carriage of naval stores, the federal government wished to assure to them that of meals; in a word, it desired to have commerce only with England. Thus, it stipulates, by the 18th article, that the American vessels, laden with grain, may be seized under the frivolous pretext, that it is extremely difficult to define the cases wherein provisions, and other articles which are generally excepted, could be classed in the list of contraband of war: thus it stipulates in article 17, that the American vessels may be arrested upon the single suspicion, either that they have merchandise belonging to the enemy, or that they carry to him articles contraband of war. The United States, in their treaty with France, have made stipulations entirely opposite to those just cited; whilst her vessels of war are bound to respect the American flag going to English possessions, the English drag into their ports American vessels going to the ports of France; subject them to decisions more or less arbitrary; and often condemn them on account of the name, alone, of their owners. By which means all the commercial relations between the United States and France, are entirely suspended. What American will venture
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to send vessels into French ports? What commerce will he venture to undertake with the French possessions, when it will be certain that his funds, either in going to, or returning from them, run the greatest hazard? Would he not rather prefer trafficking with a country, to which his vessels might go without being exposed to other risks than those of the sea? Would he not prefer Great Britain to France, for his speculations? In virtue of the treaty of London, and by the course of things, would not the commerce of the United States pass entirely to England, during the present war?

After having consented to such conditions, the American government cannot pretend to impartiality; it cannot say that it has maintained an equal neutrality between France and England, since it has granted to Great Britain advantages denied to France. But every one of these advantages granted to England, was a real wrong to the Republic; and if it is not maintained, without sporting with all principles, that a government may consider itself as neutral, in granting to a belligerent power, advantages which it refuses to another, it is clear that the government of the United States, after having made its treaty with Great Britain, ceased to be neutral, when it opposed itself to the participation by France, in the favours granted to the English.

In consequence, the undersigned minister plenipotentiary again declares, that the executive directory has just ordered the vessels of war and privateers of the Republic, to treat American vessels in the same manner, as they suffer the English to treat them.

Were the treaty of London out of the question, the measure the executive directory now takes, would not be less conformable to justice. The undersigned minister plenipotentiary has developed

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to the secretary of state, in his note of the 6th Brumaire last, principles which leave no doubt in this respect, and which the answer of the secretary of state is far from destroying. (No 5.) But the stipulations of treaties now come to the support of general principles. The Republic calls for the execution of the second article of the treaty of 1778, which says, "that France and the United States, mutually engage not to grant any particular favour, as to navigation or commerce, which shall not immediately become common to the other party." The government of the United States having, by the treaty of London, sacrificed to England the freedom of their flag, the property of the enemies of England, and naval stores; France, by her treaty, is authorized to claim the same advantage, to make use of it, and the United States have no right to complain.

Certainly it would have been more conformable to the designs of France, to her principles, to see the American flag floating without interruption upon the seas, to see the commerce of the United States enjoy that liberty, that freedom, which should belong to neutral nations: but, in order to that, it was necessary that the American government should know how to maintain that neutrality; it was necessary that it preserved it free from violation by Great Britain: and if now the execution of the measures which the directory is obliged to adopt, give rise to complaints in the United States, it is not against France they should be directed, but against those men who by negotiations contrary to the interests of their country, have brought the French government to use the prerogatives granted to the English.

When, after having suffered to be violated the treaties which unite it to France, the government of the United States has associated itself with
England,

England, and has rendered its neutrality as useful to that power as it is now injurious to its ancient ally ; could the Republic be silent ? Her outraged generosity, her wounded honour, prevented her ; her silence were weakness ; and, strong in her principles as in her proceedings, she should demand her unacknowledged or forgotten rights.

Thus therefore, as it results from the statement which the undersigned minister plenipotentiary has just given,

1st. That the 17th article of the treaty of 1778, has been violated ; that in contempt of this article the American tribunals have been permitted to take cognizance of the validity of prizes made by French ships of war and privateers, under pretext of original armament or augmentation of armament in the United States, or of capture within the jurisdictional line of the United States.

2. That the said article 17 has been equally violated by the admission of English vessels into the ports of the United States, which had made prizes on Frenchmen, and by the admission of their prizes.

The undersigned minister plenipotentiary, in the name, and by the orders of the executive directory, protests against the violation of the 17th article above cited, in contempt of which the American tribunals have taken cognizance of the validity of prizes made by French ships of war, or privateers, under pretext of original armament, or augmentation of armament in the United States, or of capture within the jurisdictional line ; claims the replevy of all seizures, and the repeal of all other judicial acts exercised on those prizes ; and protests, moreover, against all opposition to the sale of the said prizes.

Further, the undersigned minister plenipotentiary protests against the violation of the 17th article

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cle of the treaty of 1778, in contempt of which English vessels, which had made prize on Frenchmen, have been admitted into the ports of the United States; and declares, that the executive directory cannot regard as a just construction of the treaty, the distinction which Mr. Randolph, secretary of state, has established in his letter of 29th May, 1795, in which he admits only the exclusion of the English vessels which bring in their prizes, and wishes to except from the prohibitory measure, the vessels which, after having made prizes, enter the ports of the United States.

The undersigned minister plenipotentiary moreover declares, that the executive directory regards the treaty of commerce concluded with Great Britain as a violation of the treaty made with France in 1778, and equivalent to a treaty of alliance with Great Britain, and that justly offended at the conduct which the American government has held in this case, they have given him orders to suspend from this moment his ministerial functions with the federal government.

The same cause which for a long time prevented the executive directory from allowing their just resentment to break forth, has also tempered its effects. Neither hatred, nor the desire of vengeance, rapidly succeed to friendship in the heart of a Frenchman; the name of America still excites sweet emotions in it, notwithstanding the wrongs of its government; and the executive directory wish not to break with a people whom they love to salute with the appellation of friend.

The undersigned minister plenipotentiary therefore announces that the government of the United States, and the American people, are not to regard the suspension of his functions as a rupture between France and the United States, but as a mark

of just discontent, which is to last until the government of the United States returns to sentiments and to measures more conformable to the interests of the alliance and the sworn friendship between the two nations.

This alliance was always dear to Frenchmen; they have done every thing to tighten its bands; the government of the United States, on the contrary, has sought to break them. Scarcely had the war broke out between France and England, when America was alone invited to the commerce of the Antilles. All the colonial ports were opened to her. Her vessels entered the ports of France without being subjected to higher duties than French vessels. When the English violated the freedom of the neutral flag, the Convention was obliged to use reprisals. They ordered, that neutral vessels should be seized by the ships of the Republic; she excepted the Americans from this measure: forced against her inclination to make it bear on them also, she waited with impatience for the moment when she might return to a conduct more conformable to her sentiments for the United States. Soon she revoked her law relative to the arrest of their vessels. Soon also the committee of public safety gave orders to respect the American flag. In every circumstance France sought the means of proving to the United States, the sincerity of her friendship. When the federal government complained of the conduct of one of the predecessors of the undersigned, the French government saw only the complaints of the government of the United States, and immediately gave the most striking reparation.

Let the annals of the French revolution be opened; let the minutes of that august sitting be seen, in which the National Convention received the minister of the United States in its bosom; the
addresses

addresses were not studied ; they sprang from hearts full of affection for an allied people ; they breathed the sentiments which dictated them ; and the American minister found himself in the midst of his friends. What joy did not the American flag inspire, when it waved unfurled in the French senate ? Tender tears trickled from each eye ; every one looked at it with amazement. There, said they, is the symbol of the independence of our American brethren—behold there the pledge of their liberty ! May victory always attend it—may it lead to glory none but a free and happy people ! These words which escaped from a thousand mouths were the expression of the sentiments of the whole nation. Was not an American to each Frenchman, another Frenchman ?—He was more—he was a friend ; and that sacred name, amidst civil dissensions, was equally respected by all.

What then was done by the government ? It put in question, whether it should execute the treaties, or receive the agents of the rebel and proscribed princes. (No. 6.) It made a proclamation of insidious neutrality : by its chicaneries it abandoned French privateers to its courts of justice ; it eluded the amicable mediation of the Republic for breaking the chains of its citizens at Algiers. (No. 7.) Notwithstanding treaty stipulations, it allowed to be arrested vessels of the state ; it suffered England, by insulting its neutrality, to interrupt its commerce with France ; notwithstanding the faith of treaties, it gave an asylum to these same English, who after having insulted her flag, pillaged her citizens, came also to brave the American people in its ports, and to take a station whence to cruise on a favourable opportunity against the French : it might be said, that it applauded their audacity ; all submission to their will, it allowed the French colonies to be declared in a state of
N 2 blockade,

blockade, and its citizens interdicted the right of trading to them. (No. 8.) It eluded all the advances made by the Republic for renewing the treaties of commerce upon a more favourable footing to both nations. (No. 9.) It excused itself on the most frivolous pretexts; whilst it anticipated Great Britain, by soliciting a treaty, in which, prostituting its neutrality, it sacrificed France to her enemies, or rather, looking upon her as obliterated from the chart of the world, it forgot the services that she had rendered it, and threw aside the duty of gratitude, as if ingratitude was a governmental duty.

Alas! time has not yet demolished the fortifications with which the English roughened this country—nor those the Americans raised for their defence; their half rounded summits still appear in every quarter, amidst plains, on the tops of mountains. The traveller need not search for the ditch which served to encompass them; it is still open under his feet. Scattered ruins of houses laid waste, which the fire had partly respected, in order to leave monuments of British fury, are still to be found.—Men still exist, who can say, here a ferocious Englishman slaughtered my father; there my wife tore her bleeding daughter from the hands of an unbridled Englishman. Alas! the soldiers who fell under the sword of the Britons are not yet reduced to dust; the labourer, in turning up his field, still draws from the bosom of the earth their whitened bones; while the ploughman, with tears of tenderness and gratitude still recollects that his fields, now covered with rich harvests, have been moistened with French blood; while every thing around the inhabitants of this country animates them to speak of the tyranny of Great Britain and of the generosity of Frenchmen; when England has declared a war of death to that nation, to
avenge.

avenge herself for its having cemented with its blood the independence of the United States—it was at this moment their government made a treaty of amity with their ancient tyrant, the implacable enemy of their ancient ally. O! Americans, covered with noble scars! O! you who have so often flown to death and to victory, with French soldiers! You who know those generous sentiments which distinguish the true warrior! Whose hearts have always vibrated with those of your companions in arms! Consult them to-day, to know what they experience: recollect at the same time, that if magnanimous souls with liveliness resent an affront, they also know how to forget one. Let your government return to itself, and you will still find in Frenchmen faithful friends and generous allies.

Done at Philadelphia, the 25th Brumaire, 5th year of the French Republic one and indivisible (15th Nov. 1796, O. S.).

P. A. ADET.

Notes in support of the foregoing.

(No. 1.) Vide letter from Citizen Genet to Mr. Jefferson, of 22d June, 1793, message from the president, page 15 of the original French.

(No. 2.) Extract of the president's speech to the house of representatives, 3d December, 1793.

“As soon as the war in Europe had embraced those powers with whom the United States have the most extensive relations, there was reason to apprehend that an extensive intercourse with them might be interrupted, and our disposition for peace drawn into question by the suspicions too often entertained by belligerent nations. It seemed therefore to be my duty, to admonish our citizens of the

consequences of a contraband trade, and of hostile acts to any of the parties; and to obtain, by a declaration of the existing legal state of things, an easier admission of our right to the immunities belonging to our situation. Under these impressions the proclamation, which will be laid before you, was issued.

“ In this posture of affairs, both new and delicate, I resolved to adopt general rules, which should conform to the treaties, and assert the privileges of the United States. These were reduced into a system, which will be communicated to you. Although I have not thought myself at liberty to forbid the sale of the prizes permitted by our treaty of commerce with France, to be brought into our ports, I have not refused to cause them to be restored when they were taken within the protection of our territory, or by vessels commissioned or equipped in a warlike form within the limits of the United States.

“ It rests with the wisdom of Congress to correct, improve, or enforce this plan of protection; and it will probably be found expedient to extend the legal code, and the jurisdiction of the courts of the United States, to many cases, which, though dependant on principles already recognized, demand some further provisions.

“ Where individuals shall, within the United States, array themselves in hostility against any of the powers at war, or enter upon military expeditions or enterprizes within the jurisdiction of the United States, or usurp and exercise judicial authority within the United States, or where the penalties on violations of the law of nations may have been indistinctly marked, or are inadequate, these offences cannot receive too early and close an attention, and require prompt and decisive remedies.

Whatever

“ Whatever those remedies may be, they will be well administered by the judiciary, who possess a long established course of investigation, effectual process, and officers in the habit of executing it.”

(No. 3.) The undersigned minister plenipotentiary having complained to the secretary of state, that the attorney of the United States had caused the privateer *La Vengeance* to be arrested without an affidavit or other authentic testimony; on the 11th August, 1795, the secretary of state sent him an answer, which Mr. Troup had addressed to him in the absence of Mr. Harrison, district attorney of New York, in which is this passage—“ As to
“ the suit against the privateer, it was commenced
“ by Mr. Harrison, as attorney for the district,
“ upon an official disclosure to him, by the Spanish consul, of the evidence which led him to
“ suppose the privateer had been fitted out and
“ armed within the United States. Mr. Harrison,
“ upon receiving this disclosure, felt himself called
“ upon by considerations, which, as a public officer, he could not resist, to proceed against the
“ privateer under the 3d section of the act of Congress, entitled, An act in addition to the act for the
“ punishment of certain crimes against the United States, passed 5th June, 1794. This section works a
“ forfeiture of the privateer, one half to the use of any
“ person who shall give information of the offence,
“ and the other half to the use of the United States.
“ No person having appeared in quality of informer to institute the suit, Mr. Harrison according to the course of the common law, filed an
“ information in behalf of the United States, solely
“ against the privateer, as you will perceive by the
“ copy of the information already transmitted to
“ you. No law of the United States, and no law
“ or usage of this state, required the information

“ to be founded upon any previous affidavit, or evi-
 “ dence of the truth of the matters alleged in it.
 “ The filing of an information is an act entirely
 “ in the discretion of the officer entrusted by law
 “ with the power of doing it; and if he should
 “ abuse his power, he stands upon the footing of
 “ all public officers who are guilty of malversation
 “ in office. In the present instance, Mr. Harri-
 “ son has acted from the best of his judgment
 “ upon the duty of his office, after officially ob-
 “ taining information from a public officer, who
 “ conceived himself likewise bound by a sense of
 “ duty to communicate the information.”

- When the undersigned minister plenipotentiary
 renewed the charge on the 3d Vendémiaire, 4th
 year (24th September, 1795) to the secretary of
 state, and still complained that an affidavit was not
 required to cause a privateer to be arrested—he ex-
 pressed himself in these words:

“ But I again renew the assertion that an affi-
 “ davit is not necessary for ordering the arrest of
 “ a vessel:”

What is the law, what is the usage, which es-
 tablishes the prosecution for reparation of an offence,
 before it be ascertained that it has been committed;
 and what certainty then had the attorney? His opi-
 nion! Upon what is it founded? The complaint
 of the Spanish agent, since there was not a single
 affidavit.

Now, Sir, upon mere suspicions which the ene-
 my interest will not fail always to bring forward, the
 French privateers are to be subjected to seizure!
 Such a measure tends to nothing less than to para-
 lyze the 17th article of our treaty.

The secretary of state, in reply, sent to the un-
 dersigned minister plenipotentiary the copy of a
 letter from Mr. Harrison, of the 3d October, 1795,

in which is this remarkable passage—"In this whole
 " business, however, I have undoubtedly acted from
 " my own opinion, founded upon such evidence
 " as came to my knowledge; and as in similar
 " cases, I must necessarily, in the first instance,
 " be unacquainted with the opinions and convictions
 " of others, I know of no other rule by
 " which I can be guided, *unless when I am honoured with the directions of the chief executive*
 " *magistrate.*"

The secretary of state thus closes his letter of the 16th of October covering that of Mr. Harrison—

"You will perceive that whatever may be the
 " event of the suits pending in court concerning
 " her [*the privateer*] and her prize, the public
 " officer, Mr. Harrison, is supported in his proceedings
 " by the laws and usages of this country,
 " upon such evidence and information as in the
 " case referred to were produced."

(No. 4.) In virtue of this law, the tribunals were only authorized to decide on cases in which the neutrality of the United States shall have been compromised. Yet these tribunals conceived they had a right to pronounce upon prizes made by the French, in almost an indefinite manner. In the affair of Glass and Gibbs against the ship Betsey, the decision of which has been printed, the supreme court pronounced, that the tribunals could decide whether a prize belonged to enemies or to neutrals. In the affair of Joost Janson against the Dutch ship Vrow Catharina Magdalena, it was decided that the naturalization granted in the territories of France to American citizens, during the war, could not give them the right either of serving or of commanding on board of French privateers; that the prizes made by such, although legally commissioned, were not valid: a distinction
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is established between a legal and an illegal privateer; it was judged that they had a right to pronounce on this legality! and consequently on the validity of the prizes: it was finally decided, that a prize made at sea with the assistance of an illegal privateer, was void and should be restored.

It was according to these first decisions of the supreme court that the district attorney of Virginia wrote officially, on the 28th March, 1794, to the vice-consul at Norfolk—"No vessel can be condemned as prize, but in district courts, which are the proper admiralties of the United States." The enemies of France understood, or did not understand, this mode; but they availed themselves of it; and in order to cause French privateers to be arrested, they had recourse to the law of 5th June, 1794.

At this period, however, the law had put into the hands of government a sufficient power for preventing the arming and equipping of privateers in the ports of the United States. By the letter of the secretary of the treasury of the 4th August, 1793, the collectors of the customs were authorized, and even required, to visit, in the strictest manner, not only all privateers, but all vessels entering or going out of American ports. The law of the 5th June authorized the president to support the exercise of these functions with military force. Of course, they did not neglect to visit, with the greatest rigour, all French vessels, privateers, and others, during their continuance in the ports of the United States, and at their departure. They did not quit these ports, but under the eye, and with the express permission, of the officers of the government; for it had forbidden the collectors to clear them, if they committed the least violation on the neutrality of the United States: in which case they might be seized and confiscated. Yet, whether

ther they had entered the ports of the United States armed, and also went out armed ; or had since been armed for war in French ports, scarcely did one of their prizes enter, but she was arrested by order of the federal court.

The proceedings were instituted and pursued, without any of the forms for protecting citizens. As the undersigned minister plenipotentiary has said, the assertion of an enemy of the Republic was sufficient for causing a prize to be seized ; often the privateer which had brought her in, and sometimes, for the arrest of her captain, no proof was required from the enemy consul who instigated the arrest ; he was not obliged to give security for the damages which might result from the procedure, if it were unfounded ; the captain was not allowed to remain in possession of his property, on giving security for its value ; the prizes were not valued ; they simply placed them in the hands of the officers of justice ; rarely were they permitted to be sold ; and then the sale was made with slowness, and not till the consent of the two parties was obtained. In fine, when with much delay and expense, notwithstanding the shifts of a crafty chicanery, the complainants proved nothing they advanced, the prizes were adjudged to the captors, but refused indemnification for damages and losses occasioned by this seizure.

The undersigned minister plenipotentiary knows but two affairs, that of *La Nostra Senora del Carmen*, at Rhode Island ; and that of *La Princesse des Asturies*, at New York, where security was given to the party complaining, and where damages and interests were allowed to the captors—yet the tribunals have always allowed damages to the captured, when they have declared the prizes illegal. The least pretext was sufficient to obtain from a tribunal the arrest of a prize ; it was sufficient

cient to allege, that the privateer had taken one or two cannon, one or two barrels of powder, or opened some port-holes in the territory of the United States.

In the affair of the two prizes of the French privateer *Les Citoyens de Marseille*, which entered the port of Philadelphia, armed and commissioned, repaired in the same port, and sent out under the eyes of the government, the only thing in question was, that some port-holes were pretended to have been opened in the vessel after her departure from Philadelphia; the court of Charleston was of opinion, that the holes had been opened, and condemned the two prizes. The superior courts did not adopt this opinion, and the first sentence was reversed; but after how a long time, how much care, fatigue, pain and expense?

In the affair of the *Princesse des Asturies*, at New York, as will be seen hereafter, only two cannon and a score of fusees were in question; behold what is called an armament! behold how words are abused!

Prizes have been arrested under still more frivolous pretexts. The privateer *La Parisienne* had infringed a revenue law of the United States; she was seized and condemned by the district court. This tribunal, doubtless agreeably to rules prescribed by the law, had restored this vessel to her owners, on making them pay her value. The privateer, after having executed the sentence of the court, went out and made two considerable prizes: one was sent into Charleston and the other into Savannah. They were both arrested at the instance of the English consuls, under the pretext that the tribunal had acted illegally, by restoring the confiscated privateer—that notwithstanding this restitution and the payment of her value to the treasurer, she had always remained the property of the United States,

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and could not make any lawful prize. This ridiculous assertion was seriously opposed in the district and circuit courts, and in the supreme court of the United States; at the close of the proceedings, which lasted nearly two years, the prizes were adjudged to the captors, but without allowing them damages.

In like manner have been treated the rich and numerous prizes of the French privateers *La Mère Michelle*, *Le Brutus*, *Le Général Laveaux*, and *Le Vengeur*. The captors have gained their causes in three courts, and have not obtained damages.

Were it necessary to cite here all the vexatious proceedings commenced against French vessels, the undersigned minister plenipotentiary would be obliged to write a volume. He contents himself with adding to what he has just said, the affair of the *Vengeance* and that of the *Cassius*.

Affair of the Vengeance.

At the beginning of 1794, the predecessor of the undersigned charged the captain of *La Dorade*, a French galliot, with a particular mission for St. Domingo. He ordered him to go to New York with his galliot, to take some powder which was at Sandy Hook on board the frigate *La Semillante*, belonging to the Republic, and which made part of her equipment, and to carry them to General Laveaux. This vessel had formerly been armed for war; she had been built with port-holes; consequently she attracted the particular attention of the government. Many difficulties were thrown in her way; but finally, after having submitted to all the requisite inspections, she sailed with a formal clearance from the collector of the customs of Philadelphia. She went to New York, where the captain acquitted himself of his mission, and thence to Port-de-Paix, where the powder was delivered to General Laveaux.

veaux. At that place this galliot was sold to an inhabitant of St. Domingo, who armed her, equipped her completely, partly at Port-de-Paix and partly at Cape François. She was called *La Vengeance*, and given to Captain Berard, as commander, who sailed from St. Domingo with a commission in good form, and a crew entirely French, to cruise against the enemies of the Republic. A few days after her departure, she captured a Spanish vessel, called the *Princesse des Asturies*, laden with a rich cargo, and carried her into the port of New York, in the summer of 1795.

The Spanish consul availing himself of the facility given him by the law of 5th June 1794, had the prize arrested, under the pretext that the privateer had been armed in the United States, and we saw officers of the government appear to defend his assertion—Mr. Harrison, attorney of the district of New York, and Mr. Troup, clerk of the district and circuit courts, to which appertained the decision of the cause.

It was under these auspices that the prize was arrested, and that the captain of the privateer saw himself obliged to defend her against the allegation of a pretended armament. But it was not sufficient to have arrested the prize, they must also attack the privateer: this did not fail to happen. Shortly after Mr. Harrison, without laying aside his office of attorney for the captured, but acting in this instance in the name of the United States, informed against *La Vengeance*, and required her arrest, under the same pretext which had been used for arresting her prize. This information was not founded upon any affidavit or material proof: but Mr. Attorney, according to his letter to the secretary of state, had no need of any; he had seen in the hands of the Spanish consul, documents sufficient to have the prize condemned. In fine, not content with these measures,

tures, the same attorney, some time after, the two other causes being still pending, exhibited a second information against the privateer, and had her arrested anew, for having exported arms in violation of a law of the United States, which was in force when the Vengeance sailed from New York. This information was made upon the simple declaration of Mr. Giles, marshal of the court, who, as informer, was to have his part of the confiscation : so that all the officers of the district court (except the judge) were interested in the condemnation of the privateer or her prize. It is well to observe that, during the course of the process, the monies arising from the sale of the prize were deposited in the hands of the clerk (attorney for the Spaniards) those arising from the sale of the privateer in the hands of the *marshal*, (informer and interested in the confiscation)—so that their interest was to spin out these causes by means of appeal ; and so it has happened.

As this last information is here principally in question, it is proper to enter into some details on the subject. It appeared in the allegation, that the privateer had exported from the United States two cannon, twenty muskets, and fifty barrels of powder.

Two cannon and twenty muskets could scarcely be an object of commercial speculation. The existence of the cannon has never been proved, and certainly whatever muskets were found on board, were only for the defence of the vessel, without a wish to infringe the laws of the American government. The powder, in truth, was of the greatest consequence, but the consul of New York hastened to give his declaration under oath, and to prove by witnesses, that this powder had been taken from on board *La Semillante*, and made part of her equipment.

equipment. Mr. Harrison did not yield to this evidence.

However, the three causes went on; but the yellow fever, which took place at New York, spun them out to considerable length. The judgment of the district court was not given till November. In the mean time, an express, which Capt. Berard had sent to St. Domingo, on the first arrest of his prize, had returned with papers proving, in the most convincing manner, that the *Vengeur* had arrived at Port-de-Paix without any armament or equipment whatever; and that she had been sold, armed and equipped wholly, and commissioned as a privateer, on the territory of the Republic. These documents were certificates of the general, the ordonnateur, &c. of the greater part of the principal officers of St. Domingo; the accounts of armament attested by all the providers, [fournisseurs] &c. the whole executed in the most authentic form.

The undersigned hastened to communicate these documents to the secretary of state of the United States, and to request that he would order the attorney of New York district, to stay the proceedings he had instituted in the name of the government. There was nothing done with them, and Mr. Harrison continued his prosecutions.

In fine, the moment came for deciding these three causes. They were pleaded with much preparation before the district court of New York: the privateer was acquitted of the charge of illegally arming, and the prize adjudged to the captor. Mr. Harrison did not appeal as to the privateer, but the cause of the prize was carried to the circuit court, and finally to the supreme court; and these two tribunals confirmed the sentence of the district court.

As to the exportation, the judge was of opinion that the vessel should be condemned for it; and grounded

grounded his sentence only on the article of *twenty muskets*. Some of the attorneys for the privateer had considered it as of so little consequence, that they had not conceived it would be brought in question; and had omitted to speak of it in their pleadings. It was natural to appeal from such a sentence; the consul of New York was the appellant, and required, agreeably to a law of Congress, that the vessel should be given up to him, under security during the appeal; but he could not obtain it; the vessel was sold for less than a tenth part of the cost of her armament: and the money was deposited till the conclusion of the process.

The circuit court, as was expected, set aside the sentence which condemned the privateer; but Mr. Harrison, not content with all he had hitherto done, immediately appealed to the supreme court of the United States, which was not more favourable to him, and confirmed the sentence of the circuit court. The government, notwithstanding the representations of the undersigned minister plenipotentiary, took a decided part in the appeal, and gave it in charge to Mr. Lee, the attorney-general, to argue—which he did with much eloquence, but with the success such a cause merited.

Affair of the Cassius.

In the month of Thermidor, of the 3d year, (August, 1795) the corvette *Le Cassius*, belonging to the Republic, commanded by Captain Davis, and sent by General Laveaux to the undersigned minister plenipotentiary, on a particular mission, requiring her immediate return to St. Domingo, was seized in virtue of an order from the district court of the United States, for the state of Pennsylvania, and her captain was arrested at the suit of

a merchant of Philadelphia, to answer for a pretended illegal capture made in virtue of his commission, and out of the jurisdiction of the United States.

The undersigned minister plenipotentiary complained of this violation of the treaties and of the law of nations, and requested the government to cause, as soon as possible, the release of the corvette *Le Cassius* and her captain. He conceived himself so much the more grounded in this request, as he knew that a like interposition was not new in the annals of the United States; as he knew that the executive power of the state of Pennsylvania had interposed in a similar case, and in the same manner, in favour of the state of Virginia, and as this measure, dictated by a profound knowledge of the law of nations, and of the reciprocal duties of nations, had been approved and ratified by the tribunals, organs of the law.* But Mr. Randolph, secretary of state of the United States, replied to the undersigned on the 15th August, 1795 — “As long as the question is in the hands of our courts, the executive cannot withdraw it from them.”

The undersigned insisting, on the first Fructidor, in the third year (18th August, 1785) expressed himself in these terms: “I do not know, nor ought I to know, other than the government of the United States; I cannot under any shape admit the competency of your tribunals, in the different circumstances which arise on the execution or inexecution of the treaties. If these tribunals are the first to violate them, I can only address myself to the government for reparation

* Simon Nathan *versus* the common-wealth of Virginia. Dallas's Reports, p. 77.

“ of that violation ; otherwise it would be, to render the agents of the French government—the French government itself, amenable to these tribunals ; which would be to reverse principles.” Informed that the *Cassius* and her captain might be liberated on giving security, the undersigned requested, by the same letter, that the government of the United States would, itself, furnish this security ; and knowing that the supreme court of the United States, which was then in session, had the power, in certain cases, of arresting the proceedings of the inferior courts, on their signifying to them a prohibition, he suggested to the secretary to adopt this sure and prompt method to put an end to this vexatious procedure. Both these requests were refused. The captain of *Le Cassius* then addressed himself to the supreme tribunal, requested the prohibition and obtained it. The district court was enjoined immediately to stop the proceedings which had been commenced, and to liberate Captain Davis and his vessel.

But at the very instant in which the *marshal* was desired to execute the order of the supreme court, he had already in possession a new order from another tribunal (the circuit court) enjoining him to arrest the vessel *anew*, upon the charge of an English merchant and naturalized American, stating, that this vessel had been formerly armed in the United States ; and consequently requested that she should be confiscated, one moiety to himself, and the other moiety to the government. The undersigned being uninformed whether this vessel had ever been armed in the ports of the United States, he was also assured that some individuals had only attempted to put on board arms and ammunition, and which they were prevented from doing at the time ; but he takes upon him to affirm, that since this vessel has become the property of the French

Republic, General Laveaux armed and equipped her wholly at St. Domingo; and that at her arrival here, she had not a cannon or pound of powder which had not been put on board her in the territory of France. This new order was signed by one of the judges of the supreme court (in quality of circuit judge) who having already ordered the prohibition in the first instance, must have known very well that this vessel was the property of the French Republic; and who must also have known that the circuit court was not competent to this proceeding; which the law and usage have constantly attributed to the district tribunals. But the district court then sat but once a year at Philadelphia; its approaching yet distant session was to be at York Town, and the prosecutor had adopted this round-about mode, to take away every means from the French Republic of obtaining restitution of her vessel, legally, before the expiration of near a year. In the interval, she was to rot at the quays of Philadelphia. This has taken place. The undersigned, from a spirit of conciliation, made an useless attempt with one of the judges of the circuit court to obtain the liberation of the vessel, on giving security; the reply was that the judge could do nothing of himself; that the court when assembled could alone determine.

The undersigned minister plenipotentiary made new representations to the secretary of state of the United States, upon the foregoing facts. Mr. Pickering, then secretary of state, in his answer of 1st August, 1795, repeats this phrase of Mr. Randolph: "As long as the question is in the hands of our courts, the executive cannot withdraw it from them," adding thereto this remarkable expression; "and therefore is not chargeable with suffering a violation of the treaties existing between the two Republics." The undersigned complained,

ed, that the new suit commenced against the *Cassius* had been carried to an incompetent tribunal, and in the same letter, of 1st August, 1795, the secretary of state replied on this head to the undersigned, "the counsel who have told you that such "is the law, have led you into an error," &c.—maintaining the competency of the tribunal.

The undersigned minister, in these circumstances, saw himself obliged to disarm the vessel, to discharge the crew that during these transactions he had supported at great expense, and abandoned the *Cassius* to the government of the United States—protesting against the illegality of her arrest.

The undersigned minister is not acquainted with the details of what happened since that time relative to this affair; he only knows, that in the month of October last, the circuit court declared itself incompetent, notwithstanding the assertion of the secretary of state, and quashed all the proceedings. In consequence, the secretary offered him the *Cassius*; as if, after having retained, in contempt of treaties, a state vessel, after having left her to rot in port, the government of the United States were not to answer, both for the violation of the treaties, and for the damages the *Cassius* has sustained.

(No. 5.) The secretary of state, by his public letter of the 1st November last, in answer to the note of the undersigned minister plenipotentiary, of the 6th of Brumaire last, appears not to have understood either that note or the decree of the executive directory of the 14th Messidor of the 4th year.

This decree does not simply contain the order for seizing English property on board of neutral vessels, and of course on board of American vessels; it orders that the vessels of the Republic shall

act towards neutrals in the same manner as neutrals shall suffer the English to treat them.

This decree consequently implies, not only the seizure of enemy's property on board of American vessels, against the principle *free ships make free goods*, a principle the American government abandoned after having recognized it by acceding to the declaration of Russia in 1780,—not only the seizure of articles classed as contraband in the treaty concluded between Lord Grenville and Mr. Jay, and declared innocent merchandizes by the treaty of 1778, but also reprisals for all vexations, contrary to the law of nations and to the treaties, which the Americans shall endure on the part of the English, without an efficacious opposition.

The secretary of state has been pleased to observe, that France and the United States, by a reciprocal treaty, had consecrated the principle, *free ships make free goods*, and diminished the list of articles seizable as contraband. Upon this basis he built reasoning which he might have spared, if he had been pleased to remember the 2d article of the treaty of 1778.

The secretary has also been pleased to reply in part to the note of the undersigned minister plenipotentiary, dated 6th Brumaire, relative to the press exercised on the American sailors, that the federal government was not to give an account to any nation of the measures it takes for the protection of its citizens; if such an answer required a reply, the undersigned minister plenipotentiary would request the secretary of state to observe, that the object of his note of 6th Brumaire, and of his letters of the 9th and 19th Germinal last, which are there referred to, was not at all to know the steps taken by the federal government for the protection of its citizens; but the measures pursued by

by it for preventing its citizens from increasing the maritime forces of the enemies of the French Republic, its ally. It is evident, that in this case the federal government should expect, and the French Republic would have a right to regard its silence as a tacit consent to that measure and a real hostility.

The undersigned minister plenipotentiary can no longer be suspected of having demanded of the government of the United States, explanations foreign to the relations which exist between that government, and the French Republic, of having had the intention to wound the federal government, in his letter of 7th Vendémiaire in the fourth year, since after the passage cited by the secretary of state, is the following paragraph: "But I am convinced it will not be so. The American government is too much attached to the laws of an exact neutrality, it knows too well that the cause of free people is linked to that of France, to allow to be usurped by the English a right injurious to the interest of the Republic."

"It is in this conviction that I have written you this letter, persuaded that it is perhaps superfluous to address to you these reclamations. I do not doubt but the American government will prove to all Europe the intention it has of maintaining the most exact neutrality with regard to the belligerent powers, that it will oblige England to violate no longer the rights of nations, and that it will not henceforward reduce France to the pain of addressing new claims upon this subject."

(No. 6.) In the General Advertiser, published at Philadelphia on the 9th of June, 1796, may be seen the questions proposed by the President on the 18th of April, 1793, to the heads of the departments. The undersigned minister plenipotentiary

potentiary contents himself with giving here an extract.

Question 2. Shall a minister from the Republic of France be received?

Question 3. If received, shall it be absolutely, or with qualifications, and if with qualifications, of what kind?

Question 4. Are the United States obliged by good faith, to consider the treaties heretofore made with France as applying to the present situation of the parties—may they either renounce them or hold them suspended, till the government of France shall be established?

Question 12. Should the future regent of France send a minister to the United States, ought he to be received?

(No. 7.) The French government, zealous of giving to the United States proofs of its attachment, had commenced negotiations with the regency of Algiers, in order to put an end to the war which that power was making on the commerce of the United States. The minister for foreign affairs, by a letter of the 5th January, 1794, instructed the predecessor of the undersigned to communicate to the federal government the steps which the French government had taken in this respect. The predecessor of the undersigned in consequence wrote to the secretary of state, on the 16th Prairial in the 2d year, the following letter—"I have already had the pleasure, Sir, to inform you, verbally, of the interest which the committee of public safety of the National Convention had early taken in the truly unhappy situation of your commerce in the Mediterranean.

"I now fulfil the duty imposed on me by the government, by calling to your recollection in writing, the steps which are to be taken by our agent with the dey of Algiers, for repressing this new
manœuvre

manœuvre of the British administration, which has put the finishing stroke to its proofs of malevolence towards free people. The dispatch of the minister communicating this measure to me, is dated the 5th January, and did not come to my hands till fifteen days ago; I do not yet know by what route; I could have wished it had been less tardy in coming to me, that I might sooner have fulfilled the agreeable task of proving to you by facts, the protestations of friendship of which I have so often spoken in the name of the Republic of France.

“The information which I shall receive from Europe in a little time, will doubtless possess me of the success of those negotiations which were to have been opened in January last. If the situation of your affairs is yet such with respect to that barbarous regency as that our intervention may be of some utility, I pray you to invite the president to cause to be communicated to me the means that he will join to those of the committee of public safety, for the greatest success of the measures already taken. It is in virtue of the express request of the minister that I solicit of the president some communication on this subject; I shall be satisfied to be able to transmit it by a very early conveyance which I am now preparing for France.”

The secretary of state replied to him on the 6th June, 1794, by a letter of which the following is an extract.

“Your other letter of the 4th of June, is a powerful demonstration of the interest which the Republic of France takes in our welfare. I will frankly communicate to you our measures and expectations with regard to Algiers; but as you will so soon receive the detail of those measures, which your government has pursued in our behalf, and
after

after the rising of Congress some new arrangements will probably be adopted by the executive, it will be better perhaps to postpone our interview on this matter, until the intelligence, which you further expect, shall arrive."

Then Mr. Jay was charged to negotiate with the British government—and that citizen Fauchet did not afterwards receive any communication on the subject.

(No. 8.) On the 13th Floréal in the 3d year of the Republic (2d May, 1794) the predecessor of the undersigned minister plenipotentiary expressed himself in these terms to the secretary of state upon the blockade of the French colonies.

" After so many useless attempts, Sir, you must
 " be sensible of the pain I experience in tracing
 " this picture so different from that which the
 " French Republic gives whenever justice towards
 " you is in question, even though her interests are
 " compromised. It was when a terrible war was
 " incessantly devouring her, that she rigorously
 " fulfilled her treaties with you; in this instance,
 " she demands but justice, and cannot obtain it.
 " On the contrary, she sees her enemies admitted
 " to an intimacy with you, at the moment in
 " which your commerce and your sovereignty
 " are alike insulted by them; at the moment when
 " adding derision to injustice they despoil you
 " anew upon the seas, when they promise to in-
 " demnify you for former acts. This reflection,
 " Sir, becomes more grievous when we see posted
 " up under our eyes the official legalization of a
 " proclamation, which prohibits your commerce
 " with our colonies, and suspends to you alone
 " the laws of nations. I know, Sir, what respect
 " imposes on me as to what immediately interests
 " your affairs and your relations as a people.
 " But I cannot entirely pass in silence transac-
 " tions

" tions to which the Republic is no stranger, be-
 " cause they are directed against her ; and that to
 " subscribe by an excess of courtesy to such or-
 " ders, were to quit the neutral position which
 " the Americans profess. Examine I pray you,
 " Sir, whether this neutrality can be said to ex-
 " ist, when on the one hand you can no longer
 " maintain your treaties, and on the other, you
 " are obliged to abandon your relations exclusively
 " to the discretion of England, who doubtless will
 " soon declare all the universe blockaded, except
 " her possessions. What account do you conceive
 " I can render to the French government, of the
 " means you take for rendering your neutrality re-
 " spectable ? Yet on that my instructions insist,
 " and it is on that more especially that France is
 " uneasy."

The secretary of state replied on the 29th May,
 1795, to this passage of citizen Fauchet's letter in
 the following manner—

" The predicament of a neutral nation is always
 " peculiar and delicate, and eminently so, while it
 " defends itself against charges of partiality from
 " one of the warring powers, lest it should seem to
 " palliate the misdoings of another. But you are
 " not to infer, from any justification of the execu-
 " tive, that the validity of the proclamation of
 " blockade is assented to. We did read on the
 " 10th of April, 1795, a publication from his
 " Britannic Majesty's consul-general for the middle
 " and southern states of America, giving public
 " notice that he had received official communica-
 " tions, that the islands of Guadaloupe, Mariga-
 " lante and Desirade were by proclamation issued
 " by his Britannic Majesty's general and vice-admi-
 " ral, commanding in the West-Indies, declared
 " to be in an actual state of blockade ; and that
 " neutral vessels were by that proclamation pro-
 " hibited

“ libited from attempting to enter any of the ports
“ or places of the said islands, with provisions or
“ supplies of any nature or kind whatsoever, un-
“ der the penalty of being “ dealt with conforma-
“ bly to existing treaties, and as warranted by the
“ established laws of nations.” So highly valued
“ has the West-Indian commerce always been,
“ that this exclusion was often revolved in the mind
“ of the executive. It was acknowledged, that
“ neutrals are interdicted by the law of na-
“ tions from a blockaded port. From some quar-
“ ter or other blockade must be notified; or else
“ neutrals would be a constant, unsuspecting prey;
“ not being in a condition to collect this informa-
“ tion for themselves. Who then are to notify
“ the military investment of a place? Surely not
“ the besieged, but the besiegers, whether we con-
“ sult principle or practice. The check which
“ neutrals have upon a wanton and false parade
“ of a siege, is the same with the check upon
“ any other groundless pretence. We might
“ indeed have remonstrated; but with what colour
“ may well be imagined, when this department
“ was unprovided with any document upon which
“ the rescinding of that edict could have been
“ urged. If rumour were a fit guide, who can
“ pronounce, on which side rumour preponde-
“ rated, when stripped of the exaggerations,
“ which a host of passions had gathered together?
“ We had, it may be said, one effort remaining;
“ which was to promulge to the citizens of the
“ United States, that the proclamation was null
“ and void *as to them*. If after this defiance of
“ that act, any American vessel had risked, and
“ incurred confiscation, the government would
“ have been importuned for something more
“ than the *general protection*, which is the birth-
“ right of all our citizens. The clamour would
“ have

“ have been for a *special indemnity* ; and under such
“ a cloak, frauds innumerable might have been
“ covered.”

(No. 9.) The Citizen Genet, one of the predecessor of the undersigned, notified to the secretary of state on the 23d May, 1793, that he was empowered to renew the existing treaties between the French Republic and the United States. The secretary of state replied to him, that the senate not being assembled, it was impossible to meet his overtures, because that body, were, according to the constitution, to participate in the consummation of treaties.*

On the 30th September, 1793, Citizen Genet renewed the subject : the secretary of state, in acknowledging the receipt of that letter, informed him that he had laid it before the president, and that it will be taken into consideration with all the respect and interest that such an object requires.

The senate assembled, and the treaty was never again brought in question.

The predecessor of the undersigned, in his verbal communications with the secretary of state, expressed the desire which the Republic had of renewing her treaties. He received only evasive answers.

The undersigned minister plenipotentiary charged to prepare, with the federal government, the plan of a new treaty of commerce, communicated to the secretary of state, on the 30th June, 1795, (old style) that part of his instructions which authorized him to open the negotiation.

* Letter from Mr. Jefferson to Mr. Morris, dated August 23d, 1793. Message of the president 3d December, 1793, p. 68 of the original English.

On this subject the president authorized the secretary of state, who explained to the undersigned the manner in which they could proceed in it. But at what time? When the ratification of the treaty concluded between Lord Grenville and Mr. Jay no longer permitted the undersigned to pursue that negotiation.

At Philadelphia, the 25th of Brumaire, in the 5th year of the French Republic, one and indivisible (15th Nov. 1796, old style).

P. A. ADET.

END OF THE BLUNDERBUSS.

THE
POLITICAL
C E N S O R.

No. VI.



ADVERTISEMENT.

PERSUADED of the utility this Censor may be of, if extensively read, the editor has printed a double edition of it, and by that mean has been enabled to reduce the price to *One Quarter of a Dollar*.

The next Censor will contain a letter to the infamous Tom Paine, in answer to the brutal attack, which the despots of France have certainly paid him for making on General Washington, and on the government and constitution of the United States. — This Censor will also begin remarks on the debates in Congress.

TO CORRESPONDENTS.

As nothing is more gratifying than the *applause*, or profitable than the *admonition*, of good men, I have reason to congratulate myself on an abundance of both : but as applause ought never to be purchased with money, and as admonition is a commodity that every one is ready to bestow *gratis*, I must request that future communications of this kind may come to me *post free*. — I also beg leave to hint to those who give me advice, which they wish I should follow, not to do it in too dictatorial a style ; for, if I have any good qualities, docility, I am afraid, is not to be numbered amongst them.

THE HISTORY OF THE

REIGN OF
HAROLD GODWINSON

BY
JOHN G. G. G. G.

IN
TWO VOLUMES.

LONDON:
PRINTED BY

JOHN G. G. G. G.

IN THE YEAR

1812.

THE

END

OF THE

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THE
POLITICAL CENSOR.

No. VI.

REMARKS ON THE BLUNDERBUSS.

THE moment the Gallic usurpers had murdered their sovereign, and, from the vilest walks in life, mounted into his seat, they assumed the tone of masters to the government of the United States. Their style has sometimes softened, it is true ; but the general tenor of it has regularly approached towards that loftiest note, that *ne plus ultra* of insolence, which it attained in *Citizen Adet's* last communications.

In offering my sentiments on these arrogant effusions of upstart tyranny, I feel an unusual degree of diffidence : a diffidence that does not arise from any fear I entertain of the citizen or his factious adherents, or even of the "*terrible nation*," to use his own words, of which he was lately the worthy representative, but from a consciousness of my inability to do justice to the subject. The keenest satire, were I master of it, would fall blunted from such hardened impudence, such pure unadulterated brass as it would here have to encounter. Terms of reproach

reproach are not yet invented, capable of expressing the resentment that every man, who has the least respect for the government, ought to feel on this occasion.

Thus voluntarily to interfere in a correspondence between a foreign minister and the officers of state, might, under other circumstances, appear rather a bold intrusion ; but, the citizen's having communicated his papers to *the people*, at the same time, if not before, they reached the secretary of state, happily precludes the necessity of an apology.

The notes on which I am about to remark, and to which, collected together, I have affixed the title of *Diplomatic Blunderbuss*, are intended chiefly to notify to the people of America, that the French rulers are angry with the Federal Government, and that, in consequence of this anger, they have ordered Citizen Adet to suspend his functions as minister, till the government shall alter its conduct, or, in the pedagogue style, mend its manners.

In the 44th page of the *Blunderbuss*, the citizen makes a recapitulation of the offences that have brought on us this dreadful chastisement, this political excommunication ; and it will not appear a little surprising, that some of them have existed ever since the birth of the French Republic, notwithstanding the love and esteem this outlandish lady has ever expressed towards her sister America.

These offences, amounting to seven in number, are as follows :

1. The Federal Government *put in question*, whether it should execute the treaties, or receive the agents of the *rebel* and proscribed *princes*.
2. It made a proclamation of *insidious* neutrality.
3. By its *chicaneries*, it *abandoned* French privateers to its courts of justice.

4. It

4. It eluded the amicable mediation of the French Republic for breaking the chains of the American citizens in Algiers.
5. It *allowed* the French colonies to be declared in a state of blockade, and *allowed* the citizens of America to be interdicted the right of trading to them.
6. It eluded all the advances made by the French Republic for renewing the *treaties of commerce* upon a more favourable footing to both nations.
7. It anticipated Great Britain, by soliciting a treaty, in which treaty it prostituted its neutrality; it sacrificed France to her enemies, or rather, looking upon her as obliterated from the chart [map] of the world, it forgot the services she had rendered it, and threw aside the duty of gratitude, as if ingratitude was a governmental duty.

These are the heinous crimes of which the Federal Government stands charged by the sultans of France. Let us now, if they will permit us, examine these crimes, one by one, and see whether the President, and Messrs. Hamilton, Knox, Jay, Pickering and Wolcot, really deserve to be guillotined, or not.

“ 1. *The Federal Government put in question, whether it should execute the treaties, or receive the agents of the rebel and proscribed princes.*”

The Citizen has made a small mistake in drawing up this charge, owing, I suppose, to his ignorance of that excellent rule of the English language, which requires every thing to be called by its right name. I would have worded it thus:—
 “ The Federal Government put in question, whether it should execute the treaties, made between America and the King of France, with

“ *rebel subjects* who had just murdered him, or receive the agents of his lawful successors, the Princes whom those murderers had had the audacity to pretend to proscribe.”

With this trifling alteration, I am ready to admit the truth of the charge, but am very far from admitting it to be a crime. The King of France was murdered on the 21st of January, 1793. Information of this event could not be received here much before the 18th of April, and it was on that day the President submitted to his council, the questions of which the above charge forms the substance.

The treaties here spoken of, were made with Louis XVI. whose minister, at the time these questions were proposed for consideration, was resident at Philadelphia. The President knew, indeed, that the king was dead ; but he, at the same time, knew that the treaties were binding on the United States in behalf of his lawful “ *heirs and successors,*” and he certainly knew that Pétion, Danton, Roland, Clavière, Condorcet, Brissot, and the innumerable horde of bloody usurpers who have come after them, were not those “ *heirs and successors !*” He also knew, that even the whole French nation, could not, in the sense of the treaties, become the “ *heirs and successors*” of Louis XVI. and, though treaties, made with a monarch, *may* remain in force with the nation under a new form of government, yet this is, as most assuredly it ought to be, entirely at the option of the other contracting party. The American government had, therefore, an indisputed right to refuse to execute, in behalf of the French nation, treaties made with their sovereign alone.

If we turn back a little, we shall find this very audacious and unprincipled Convention, whose minister was coming to Philadelphia, publicly deliberating, “ whether the treaties, made with the ty-
 “ *rant*

“*rant Louis*, were binding on the *regenerated nation*, or not.” This question was determined in the negative, and accordingly the treaty with Holland was immediately violated. And yet they will not permit the poor government of America to debate about any such thing, nor even to talk of it in secret, though the result be in their own favour! Let it be remembered too, that Genet came authorized to make *new treaties*, a pretty certain proof, that the Convention did not call in question the right of the government to refuse to adhere to the old ones. It is a proof of more; it is a proof that they expected that it would make the refusal. Would to God their expectation had been realized!

I will not go so far as to say, that the Federal Government was fully justified in its *decision* on this important subject; but I insist that its conduct evinced the utmost partiality for the new *Republic*. When Genet arrived here, it was far from being ascertained that the whole, or even a majority, of the French nation, approved of the murder of their sovereign, or had abandoned the cause of his successors. The government of America, had, but a few months before, beheld them raising their hands to heaven, and swearing to die, if necessary, in defence of their king. Their constitution, establishing an *hereditary monarchy*, had been voluntarily formed, and solemnly sanctioned by the whole nation, amidst festivals and *Te Deums*, and had been officially communicated to the world. Each member of the Assembly, as well as every individual Frenchman, had repeatedly sworn “to maintain this constitution with all his might.” Laws had been made, punishing with transportation all who refused to take the oath, and till then unheard-of cruelties had been exercised on the non-jurors. After all this, was it astonishing that the Federal Government should, for a moment, hesitate to be-

P 4

lieve,

lieve, that the nation was really become a Republic, and that this constitution, about which there had been so much noise, and rejoicing, and feasting, and singing, and swearing, should be so completely destroyed as to leave neither remnant nor rag visible? Must they be looked upon as the enemies of France, because they did not yield implicit credit to him who first told them, that the very men who had declared the king's person to be "sacred and inviolable," had dipped their hands in his blood; and that the people, who had solemnly vowed to maintain the decree with their lives, had basely applauded the sanguinary deed?—It is not the final *determination* of the American government, for that was in favour of the Convention, but it is its *hesitation*, of which Citizen Adet complains: as if he said—"How could you, for a moment, doubt of the faithlessness of my countrymen? How durst you hesitate to think them, what they have since so fully proved themselves, a horde of traitors, perjurers, and assassins?"—If the Citizen will but forgive the government this time, I will answer for them they will never doubt on this subject again.

But, if it was so very natural for the Federal Government to view the French in their true character, was not that a reason, on the other hand, for deliberating whether their republican minister should be received in preference to the agents of the Princes? The government had the interests of America to attend to in this important decision, as well as those of France. A weighty debt was due from this country, not to the regenerated nation nor to its blood-thirsty tyrants, but to Louis XVI, *his heirs and successors*. A minister from the Republic once admitted, a claim of the interest of the debt could not be refused; and if the volatile and perjured nation had recalled the successor of their sovereign,

sovereign, would not that successor have demanded, and with justice, a second payment of such interest? This has not *yet* happened, but it does not follow that it might not have happened. In the common affairs of men, he who has been once convicted of perjury, is never after looked upon as credible; and the same rule is applicable to societies. It is entirely owing to the want of good faith among the allies, and to the dastardly conduct of the Princes themselves, neither of which could well be foreseen at the time, that a Bourbon is not now on the throne of France: so that, the Federal Government, instead of discovering a hostile disposition towards the Republic, certainly hazarded much in its favour.

But, considerations of this nature have no weight with the new sovereigns of France. Their object in bringing forward the charge at this time, is, not to impress on the minds of the people that their government acted unjustly or unwisely, but that it leaned to the side of *monarchy* rather than to that of *republicanism*. That this is false is clear from the result; but were the insinuation just, had the government expressed a wish to see such a monster of a republic as that of France crushed in its birth, the wish would have been a most pious one.

Republicanism is become, for what reason I know not, synonymous with *freedom and happiness*, and there are thousands among us who pretend to believe, notwithstanding the terrible example before their eyes, that men cannot be enslaved under a form of government that is called republican. Mr. Adams, in his *Defence of the American Constitutions*, Vol. I. page 87, says: "Our countrymen
 " *will never run delirious after a word or a name.*
 " *The name republic is given to things in their*
 " *nature*

“ nature as different and contradictory as light
“ and darkness, truth and falsehood, virtue and
“ vice, happiness and misery. There are *free*
“ *republics*, and *republics as tyrannical as an ori-*
“ *ental despotism.*”——How fully is the truth of
these observations exemplified in the republics
of America and France ! But even this wise and
deep-sighted civilian could not imagine that his
countrymen would ever run delirious after a name ;
much less could he imagine, that he should live
to see many of them extolling, as the paragon of
republics, a system of tyranny that has all the ap-
pearance of being an instrument of the wrath of
heaven.

I shall dismiss this first charge against the go-
vernment, with observing, that the meanness
equals the impudence of making it. We have
seen the French murder their king, whose greatest
fault was his confidence in *their* fidelity ; we have
seen them drag his headless and bloody carcass
from the scaffold, throw it into a pit without
the rites of sepulture, and, to deprive it of even
the privilege of rotting, consume it with hot lime.
Yet, after all this, they are not ashamed to com-
plain, that they were not, without hesitation, ad-
mitted as heirs his successors ! They are not
ashamed to enjoy the benefits resulting from a con-
tract, made with the very man the anniversary of
whose murder they celebrate ! Like the treache-
rous labourers, they first slay the lord of the vine-
yard, and then seize on his possessions, his titles and
his deeds.—Men may be unjust and tyrannical, they
may even be cruel and ferocious, without being
mean. There are many assassins who would scorn
to dress themselves in the robes of their victim.
But, to unite vices seemingly incompatible, is the
characteristic of the regenerated French : in all
they say and do, there is such a mixture of licen-
tiousness and servility, of frivolity and fero-
city,

city, of duplicity, insolence and meanness, that we know not whether to despise or hate them most.

“ 2. *The government made a proclamation of insidious neutrality.*”

This charge is as false as it is rude. I would beg this well-informed and polite citizen, to name one single instance of the insincerity of the Federal Government, in enforcing this proclamation. As applied to the conduct of some part of the people, indeed, the neutrality might be called *insidious*; but then, this insidiousness operated in favour of the French and not against them. There were many who highly approved of the proclamation, and who at the same time actually made war upon the enemies of France. An army of Americans, under the authority of Genet, invaded the Spanish territories, while privateers were fitted out to cruize on the British; cargoes of ammunition and arms were shipped off, and thanksgivings, and other public demonstrations of joy, were heard from one end of the Union to the other. The bells of the good old Christian church, opposite me, fired rounds to celebrate the inundation of the Atheistical barbarians into Holland; and the English flag was burnt at Philadelphia, on the public square, as a sacrifice to the goddess of French liberty. These latter circumstances are trifling in themselves, 'tis true, and certainly excited nothing but contempt and ridicule, in the minds of those whom they were intended to insult; but, the question is (and it is to ask this question that they are here mentioned,) what would the French, that “terrible nation,” have said, had these insults, these marks of an *insidious* neutrality been offered to them? Would they have not sent their fleets and knocked down our towns and burnt our ships? No; the
enemy

enemy would have stopped them on the way ; but they would have stirred hell to seek for the means of vengeance. What they had wanted in deeds, they would have made up for in words. Every opprobrious term in their new-fangled vocabulary would have been heaped on our heads. How many *sacrés mâtins* and *jean-f—tres* and *f—tus chiens* and *libertécides* and *neutralitécides* would they have called the poor *Anglo-Americans*, in the course of a *Decade* ! Instead of bell, book and candle, they would have cursed us with all the gods of their heathenish calendar ; and, which would have been infinitely worse, they would have cursed us with the teasing remonstrances of an impertinent minister.

Where a breach of neutrality, cognizable by the laws, appeared, the Federal Government always did its utmost to bring the offenders to justice, and it is for this very reason, that the late diplomatic Mounseer has dared to accuse it of an insidious neutrality. After the proclamation was issued, and Genet saw that there was no hope of setting it aside by inciting the people to rebellion, he feigned an acquiescence, and declared that the Convention did not wish the prosperity of their dear brethren of America to be interrupted by a participation in the war. It entered into his delirious brain, that the proclamation was to be a mere cloak, under which he thought to enlist as many soldiers and arm as many privateers as he could pay for. Such a neutrality would, indeed, have been more advantageous to France than an open declaration of war on the part of the United States ; but when he found that the government was resolved to enforce the proclamation ; when he found that his pirates were not permitted to rob and plunder with impunity, and that the American harbours were not to serve them as
hiding

hiding places, whence they might sally out upon poor old John Bull, as their great predecessor did upon the beeves of Hercules; then he began to foam and *sacré dieu* against the *libertécide* government, for “neutralizing the zeal of the citizens, “and punishing the generous children of liberty, “for flying to the relief of their mother, when she “was upon the point of violation by a horde of “crowned monsters.”

As Citizen Adet seems to have been furnished with memorandums concerning the conduct of all the state governments, with respect to the vessels of the belligerent nations; as he must be in possession of the *French archives*, those everlasting records of poor Mr. Randolph's precious confessions, and of the services of all those who have deserved well of the terrible Republic, it was rather ungrateful of him, to overlook the alertness of that vigilant and virtuous and chaste and incorruptible republican, Governor Mifflin, at the time of laying the embargo. That venerable old democrat, the father-in-law of Citizen Genet, who has happily given place to a better man, might also have merited encomium on the same account. With what care did they watch! With what zeal did they call out the militia, and man whale boats, and run and bustle about, to prevent the escape of vessels bound to British ports! Their diligence in the discharge of this part of their duty was not a whit inferior to that of those useful auxiliaries of justice, which the rudeness of these latter times has styled thief-catchers; while the vessels bound to the land of *Messidor* and *Floréal* and *Vendémiaire*, &c. slipped off “in a dark night;” and while, in another quarter, a whole fleet sailed for this land of starvation, though the embargo had been laid ten days before. Had the British minister complained of a breach of neutrality here, he might have

have been heard with patience ; but, if even he had had the assurance to make use of the word *insidious*, he would have merited a peremptory order to pack up.

The only breach of neutrality with which the federal government can possibly be charged, is, the liquidation of the French debt. This favour, as beneficial to France as it was apparently hazardous to the United States, would have been acknowledged by Citizen Adet and his masters, had they not been as ignorant of the law of nations as of the laws of politeness and decency. Citizen Genet, when he opened the negotiation, promised that every farthing of the debt, if liquidated, should be *expended in the country*, and, for once, I believe, contrary to the German proverb, the Frenchman kept his word ; for, except what was retained for the unavoidable daily hire of *Poor Richard*, and some few other items, I believe every single sous of it went among the *Flour Merchants*.—What think you, Mr. Dallas? Come now, d—n it, tell the truth for once in your life. Be frank with your countryman, and we'll make up all old grievances.—Well, you may be as sulky as you please : I believe it ; or your friend Fauchet never would have stood, like a bilked cully, with his pocket turned inside out, when he could have purchased a delicious civil war with a few thousand dollars.—It is an old saying, and all old sayings are true ; that what is got over the devil's back is spent under his belly ; and so it happened with this debt. The givers and the receivers were just of a stamp, and one had just as much right to the money as the other.

But, to return to my subject : whether this liquidation were a breach of neutrality, in a rigorous sense, or not, every real friend of America must rejoice at its being effected. It was one effort

fort towards shaking off a *dependance* that yet hangs about our necks like a millstone. One of our poets has called a *dun* "a horrid monster, hated of gods" and men." Exactly such was Genet, when he first arrived, and such would have been his successors, had not the clamorous creditors (or rather claimants) been silenced by a discharge of the debt. This the government undoubtedly foresaw, and therefore wisely resolved to relieve us from their importunities. But there is another debt of enormous magnitude, that still remains; I mean the debt of *gratitude* due from this country to the regenerated French. This we shall never liquidate, while there is a Frenchman left to ask, or an American to give. It is incalculable in its amount, and eternal in its duration; we will therefore leave it to pass down the stream of time along with the *insidious neutrality*.

"3. *The Government, by its chicaneries, abandoned French privateers to its courts of Justice.*"

This is, I tremblingly presume, the "terrible" style, and is therefore looked upon as sufferable in a minister from a "terrible nation;" but I am pretty confident, it would be suffered with impunity in no other. Some writer on the *belles lettres*, I believe it is Burke, observes, that terror is a property of the sublime, and I am sure that insolence is a property of the terrible. I know not precisely what punishment the law of nations has awarded for such language, but I should imagine it can be nothing short of breaking of bones. A good Irish sheeleley or Devonshire quarter-staff seems much better calculated for answering a charge like this than a pen.—*The chicaneries of the government!—Abandoning privateers to courts of Justice!*—If this does not deserve a rib-roasting, I do not know what does. If this goes off so, then
I say

I say there is no such thing as justice on this side the grave. Why, I have seen many as good a man as Citizen Adet, aye and as faithful to his king too, flogged till the blood ran into his shoes, for giving language a hundred times less insolent than this, to a lance corporal.

Does the general government of America then act by *chicane*? Does General Washington, whose integrity, whose inflexible firmness and whose undaunted bravery have been acknowledged and admired as far as his name has reached, merit to be put on a level with a miserable pettifogger? And is a cause *abandoned*, because it is submitted to an *American court of judicature*? Are both judges and juries in this country so very, very corrupt, that no justice can be expected from their decisions? Are we so nearly like Sodom and Gomorrah that twelve honest men are not to be found among us?

An accusation may be so completely absurd and impudent, that no one can attempt to refute it, without sinking, in some degree, towards a level with the accuser; and, as I have no inclination to do this, I leave the present one to be answered by the indignation of the reader.

“ 4. *The Government eluded the amicable mediation of the French Republic for breaking the chains of the American citizens in Algiers.*”

Every one who recollects the anxiety which the President has ever expressed on the subject of a treaty with Algiers, the innumerable obstacles he had to surmount, and the enormous expense by means of which it was at last effected, need not be told that this charge is as ill-founded as the preceding ones. But, as it is intended to bring forward to the people a proof of the friendship of France, at the moment her hatred and hostility are evident to every eye, in this point of view it may be worth

worth while to hear what the Citizen has to say in support of it.

He tells us (*Diplomatic Blunderbuss*, page 66), that "the French government, zealous of giving to the United States proofs of its attachment, had commenced negotiations with the regency of Algiers, in order to put an end to the war which that power was making on the commerce of the United States." That the minister for foreign affairs instructed Fauchet (the very Fauchet who expressed his regret that the Western rebellion did not succeed) to communicate to the Federal Government the steps which that of France had taken in this respect, which he did in the following terms, on the 4th of June, 1794.

"I have already had the pleasure, Sir, to inform you, verbally, of *the interest* which the committee of public safety of the National Convention *had early taken* in the truly unhappy situation of your commerce in the Mediterranean.

"I now fulfil the duty imposed on me by the government, by calling to your *recollection* in writing, the steps which are to be taken by our agent with the dey of Algiers, for repressing this new manœuvre of the British administration, which has put the finishing stroke to its proofs of malevolence towards free people. The dispatch of the minister *communicating this measure* to me, is dated the 5th January, 1794, and did not come to my hands till fifteen days ago; I *do not yet know by what route*; I could have wished it had been less tardy in coming to me, that I might sooner have fulfilled the agreeable task of proving to you by facts, the protestations of friendship of which I have so often spoken in the name of the Republic of France.

“ The information which I shall receive from
 “ Europe in a little time, *will doubtless possess me*
 “ *of the success of those negotiations which were to*
 “ *have been opened in January last.* If the situa-
 “ tion of your affairs is yet such with respect to
 “ that barbarous regency, as that our intervention
 “ may be of some utility, *I pray you to invite the*
 “ *president to cause to be communicated to me the*
 “ *means that he will join to those of the committee*
 “ *of public safety,* for the greatest success of *the*
 “ *measures already taken.* It is in virtue of the
 “ express request of the minister that I solicit of
 “ the president *some communication on this subject ;*
 “ I shall be satisfied to be able to transmit it by a
 “ very early conveyance which I am now preparing
 “ for France.”

The secretary of state replied to him on the 6th June, 1794, by a letter of which the following is an extract.

“ Your other letter of the 4th of June, is a power-
 “ ful demonstration of the interest which the Repub-
 “ lic of France takes in our welfare. I will frankly
 “ communicate to you our measures and expecta-
 “ tions with regard to Algiers ; but *as you will so*
 “ *soon receive the detail of those measures,* which
 “ your government has pursued in our behalf, it
 “ will be better perhaps to postpone our interview
 “ on this matter, *until the intelligence which you*
 “ *further expect, shall arrive.*”

First, observe here, that Adet tells the people, that somebody in France, no matter who, *had actually commenced negotiations* with the regency of Algiers in behalf of their countrymen. To prove this, he quotes a letter of Fauchet, in which this latter begs to call to the recollection of the Federal Government “the steps which *are to be taken,*” and not the steps which are taken. Afterwards Fauchet, presuming upon what has been done

done since his latest instructions came away, talks in the very same letter, about measures *already taken*; but is unable to say any thing about the nature or success of them, until he receives *further information* from Europe, which he makes no doubt is upon the point of arriving.—Now, is it not very surprising that this further information never came to hand, from that day to this? And is it not still more surprising, that no traces of this friendly mediation, of these steps that *were to be taken*, and those measures that *were already taken*, should ever be discovered by the American Envoy to Algiers? When the French do what they can possibly construe into an act of generosity, they are not very apt to keep it hidden from the world, or to suffer the obliged party to remain unreminded of it.

But, let us hear how Master Adet accounts for his worthy predecessor's receiving no *further information* relative to this generous interference in our behalf. Fauchet told the government he was in daily expectation of it, and yet it never came. How will Citizen Adet get out of this? We have him fairly hemmed up in a corner here, and he has a devilish deal more wit than I take him to have, if he gets himself decently out of it.—He tells us that the French government had taken measures for the relief of the captives, that the mediation was in a charming train, that Fauchet communicated this pleasing intelligence to the President, who waited with anxious expectation for further information, which Fauchet hourly expected to receive, and that “*then Mr. Jay was charged to negotiate with the British government.*”——Well; and what then?——Why, “*and then Citizen Fauchet did not receive any communication on the subject.*”——What?——O, oh! and so *then*, it seems, Mr. Jay's being ap-
a 2
pointed

pointed to negotiate a treaty of amity and commerce with king George, prevented the *agreeable information*, "the facts proving the sincerity of the " French protestations of friendship," from being received ! And did so completely do away all those steps which *were to be taken*, and which *were taking*, and which *had already been taken*, that they were never after heard of ! Surprizing, that the United States should have chilled, should have perished even, the zealous interest that France took in their distresses, merely because they wished to avoid still greater distresses, by an amicable negotiation elsewhere !

Let us recur to him also. A lye that is bound down to *dates* is difficult to be successfully kept up.

The committee of public safety (it should have been called the committee of public misery) instructed Citizen Fauchet on the 5th of January, 1794, to inform the American government, that they were about taking means for "breaking the " chains of our captive citizens in Algiers." This "proof of the protestations of their friendship" did not come to Fauchet's hands till the 4th of the ensuing June, just five months, to an hour ; and when it did at last arrive, Citizen Fauchet, *could not tell by what route* !—A pretty story this, and a pretty sort of Ambassador to receive dispatches of such importance, without knowing *by whom* or *by what route*. Let Citizen Adet and his worthy predecessor, Father Joseph, go and impose such humbug tales upon the poor stupid enslaved Hollanders and Genevese, they will find few such gulls here.

Again : how could the appointment of Mr. Jay prevent the reception of *further information*, if such information was daily expected ? Robespierre and his bloody colleagues, who felt such a tender concern for the captives, could not hear of this appointment

pointment sooner than about two months after it took place; the information, promised, as they say, on the 5th of January, must therefore have been on the way, and what, then, I would be glad to know, prevented its coming to hand? That it *never* did come to hand, Master Adet has confessed, and we must inevitably conclude therefrom, that it was never either promised on that side of the water, or expected on this.—These dates form a net in which the Citizen has hampered himself. He had got the *Messidors* and the *Fruetidors* into his brains, and could he have got them into ours also, could he have made us adopt the beastial calendar of *Poor Richard*, we might have lost our account too; but by sticking to the good old June and January, we have caught him out.

The fact is, the committee of public misery never took any steps towards a mediation, never wrote any letter to Fauchet on the subject, nor did this latter ever expect any information relative thereto. The whole was a mere trumped up story to induce the President to relinquish his purpose of a pacific negotiation with Great Britain, by giving him a high opinion of the friendship of France, and leading him to depend on her for support. Had the President been the dupe they expected he was, we might have bidden an eternal farewell to *independence*. If Robespierre and the Convention had once got a hold of him, he would in vain have struggled to get free: their fraternal hug would have been a million times more fatal to us than the grapples of the Algerine galleys to the crews of our ships.—Observe how anxious Fauchet was to obtain some *overture* on the part of the President: “ I pray you to invite the President *to cause to be communicated to me the means which he will join to those of the committee of public safety.*” This was all Fauchet wanted him to do; to ask some fa-

your or other. I doubt not but they would have really interposed with their brother barbarians for the liberation of the captives ; but the chains which they would have knocked off from a handful of Americans, would have been rivetted on America for ever. The President saw the snare, and, with his usual sagacity, avoided it ; and thus preserved himself and his country from disgrace and ruin.

The motive for advancing the charge at this time, is, to instil into the minds of the people, that the President felt extremely indifferent as to the fate of the captives. This base, this calumnious, this insufferably insolent insinuation, I leave to the resentment of those for whose sake he has undergone every toil and every hardship, has a thousand times ventured his life, and, what is more, has patiently borne the viperous bite of ingratitude. If there be an American, who approves of the late revolution, and who esteems himself happy under the change which it has produced, and who yet has not the courage to resent this audacious aspersion of the character of General Washington, he deserves to be curtailed of the signs of manhood : such a pusillanimous reptile ought not to be suffered to propagate his breed.

“ 5. *The government allowed the French colonies to be declared in a state of blockade, and allowed the citizens of America to be interdicted the right of trading to them.*”

It is a wonder Citizen Adet did not swell the list here. He might, with equal reason, have complained that the Federal Government *allowed* the British to conquer the half of these colonies ; that they *allowed* Lords Howe, Hood, and Bridport, to destroy their fleets ; and that they *allowed* Prince Charles to beat and pursue their boasting army. He might have complained, that they are about to
allow

allow the sans-culotte General *Moreau* to be *Burgoyned*, and the ruffian *Bonaparte* and his wolfish comrades to leave their lank carcasses in Italy, which I hope and believe will be *allowed*. Had he complained, that they *allowed* it to rain, to snow and to thunder, his complaint would not have been more absurd than it now is.

But, the government also *allowed* “the American citizens to be interdicted the right of trading to these colonies.”—As to the *power* of preventing this, the same may be said as of the prohibitions above supposed; and as to the *right* of preventing it, if the power had existed, nothing can be said, unless we knew the exact state of the blockades, to which the Citizen alludes, but of which his *Blunderbuss* gives no particular account.

When a place, or an island, is actually invested in such manner as to enable the besieger to prevent neutrals from entering, he has a right, according to the immemorially established law of nations, not only to exercise this power of prevention, but to seize on, and confiscate, both goods and vessels; and even to inflict corporal punishment on all those who transgress his prohibition. That the British have sometimes declared places in a state of siege, which were not really invested, has often been asserted, but never proved; but it is well known, on the other hand, that they never went to the rigour of the law of nations with those who had the temerity to disregard their prohibitions, in attempting to enter places which were completely blockaded.

Numerous complaints of captures, made at the entrance of the ports of an island, amount to a pretty strong presumptive proof, that the captor has formed an actual investiture. If he has done this, he certainly has a right to declare it, and it follows of course, that no neutral power has a right to take offence at his declaration. When one of

the neutral captains complained, that the British *intercepted, and seized on, every vessel* that attempted to enter the port of St. Pierre's, and, in the very same letter, inveighed against *the illegality of their declaring the place in a state of blockade*, he talked like a good honest tar; and when we hear a public minister echoing the complaint, we may pardon his ignorance, but we cannot help wishing, at the same time, that he had been sent to hand, reef and steer, stew up lobscons, or swab the deck, rather than to pester us with his boorish grumbling and tarpauling logic.

Where a merchant, or a mariner, through love to the besieged, or hatred to the besieger, through avarice or through indiscretion, has lost his property by an endeavour to elude the prohibition of trading to a blockaded place, it is very natural, and therefore perhaps excusable, in him to be vociferous in complaint against the injustice of the captor; but it is not quite so natural or excusable in his government to participate in his resentment, and plunge the nation into a war to avenge him. Were the harmony of nations to be disturbed by the passions of individuals, peace must take her flight to heaven, for she would never find a resting place on the face of the earth.

It is, however, certain, that very many of the captures, made by the British cruizers, were contrary to the law of nations, and therefore called for the interposition of the general government. And has not that government interposed? Yes; and so effectually too, that a mode of indemnification, as equitable and as honourable as either party could wish for, has been firmly settled on. Supposing, then, for a moment, that France had a right to make inquiries on the subject, what more does she want? Strange as it may seem, to those who are inattentive to the intrigues of this at once volatile, ferocious,

ferocious, and artful republic, it is the success of the negotiation, by which this very indemnification was obtained, that has occasioned the charge now preferred by her minister ! The French, or rather the French usurpers, rejoiced at the British depredations on the commerce of this country : nothing was farther from their wishes than to see the sufferers indemnified. They were in hopes of a rupture being produced between Britain and America, and they are now foaming at their disappointment.

To this charge respecting blockades and the seizure of American vessels, may be added that which Citizen Adet makes with regard to the impressment of seamen from on board of those and other vessels.

The complaint against British impressments has so often been the subject of public debate and private animadversion, that it would seem unnecessary to dwell on it here ; yet, as I do not recollect ever having seen it placed in a fair point of view, to attempt doing it at this time can be productive of no harm.

The impressed seamen were of two descriptions ; *British subjects* and *American subjects*, or (if my readers like the term better) *American citizens* *. This distinction is a very important one, because on it totally depends the legality or illegality of the impressment.

* Every man belonging to a free state, whether monarchical or republican, may be called a *citizen*, as a member of the society ; but it is never improper to call him a *subject*, when we speak of him as under subjection to the laws of the state. In the present constitution of Massachusetts, the people are sometimes called *subjects*, and at others, *citizens* ; and who is fool enough to believe, or impudent enough to say, that they are less free than the people of the other states ?

It is an established and universally acknowledged principle, that, to the lawful sovereign power of the state, or, in other words, the state itself, in which a man is born, he owes allegiance to the day of his death; unless exempted therefrom by the consent of that sovereign power. This principle is laid down by nature herself, and is supported by justice and general policy. A man, who is not dead to every sentiment that distinguishes him from the brute, feels himself attached to his native land by ties but very little weaker than those which bind him to his parents, and he who can deny the one, will make little scruple of denying the other. For the truth of the former remark, I appeal to the heart of my reader, and for the truth of the latter, to his daily observation.—Who would not regard as a monster, the ungrateful wretch that should declare he was no longer the son of his father? And yet this is but one step from pretending to shake off his allegiance to his country. Such declarations may be made, but the debt of duty and allegiance remains undiminished.

And is it not *just* that the state which has bred, nourished, and protected you, should have a title to your allegiance? A fool might say, as I heard a philosophical fool lately say, with Godwin's *Political Justice* in his hand; "I could not avoid being born in your state." But, ungrateful fool, the state might have avoided sheltering you under its wings, and suffering you to grow up to manhood. It might have expelled you the society, cast you out to live among the beasts, or have thrown you into the sea, had it not been withheld by that law, that justice, which now sanctions its claim on your allegiance. To say, that you "*never asked for protection*," is the same thing as to say, that you *never asked to be born*. Had your very first cry been a renunciation of protection, it would not have

have invalidated the claim of the state; for you were protected in your mother's womb. Should the state now withdraw its protection from you, and leave you to the mercy of the plunderer and assassin, or drive you out from its boundaries, without any forfeiture on your part; would you not exclaim against such a step as an act of brutal injustice? And yet this is no more unjust than for you to withdraw your allegiance, cast the state from you, and leave it to the mercy of its foes. The obligation here is perfectly reciprocal; as the state cannot, by its own arbitrary will, withhold that protection which is the birthright of every individual subject, so no subject can, by his arbitrary will, alienate that allegiance which is the right of the state.

The *general policy* too, the mutual interest of nations, in supporting this principle, is so evident, that nothing but the influence of the wild and barbarian doctrines of the regenerated French can account for its having been disputed.—If men could alienate their allegiance at pleasure, they could also transfer it at pleasure; and then, into what confusion would not mankind be plunged? Where should we look for the distinctive mark of nations, and where find the standard of right and of duty?

Let us illustrate the excellence of this policy by an example of what might result from its contrary, and at the same time bring the question home to America.—It is very natural that the people of this country should wish to draw the seamen from other countries and claim them as hers, but let us see how this doctrine would suit when brought into operation against herself.—Suppose a war (which God forbid) should break out between America and Great Britain, and that some of the citizens or subjects of these states should be found on board the

the enemy's vessels making war upon their country ; in this case, America would have no right to punish them, according to the new doctrine, if they declared that they had transferred their allegiance to Britain. We may bring the evil still nearer to our doors, and assert, that even deserters to an enemy, landed in the country, would also claim exemption from punishment.—It will not do to say, that this would be *treason*. If allegiance be transferrable, the transfer may take place for all purposes, at all times, and in all places ; for war as well as for peace ; in the hour of danger as well as in the hour of security ; on this side of the sea as well as on the other ; in the camp as well as in the city.—This wild doctrine once established, *treason* would become a duty, or rather there could be no such thing as a *traitor* in the world. The barriers of society would be broken into shivers : the discontented of every community would be tempted, and would moreover have a right to abandon, betray, and make war upon their country.

Applying what has been said to the complaint now before us, we shall find, that the people residing in these States at the time their independence was acknowledged, and that those who have been born in them since that time, are not subjects of Great Britain ; and that all who have emigrated from the dominions of Britain since that epoch are her subjects. It is very certain, that nearly all the impressed seamen were of this latter description, and were therefore still subject to the laws of their country, and the regulations of their sovereign, when found in any part of his or his enemy's dominions, or upon the high seas. These regulations authorized his officers to impress them, and therefore they were impressed. That their impressment was frequently a very great loss to their employers, might be subject of regret ; but the government

vernment of the United States had no more right to complain of it, than that of Britain had to complain of their being employed.

The heathenish French are certainly the last people in the world to hold up as an example to Christian nations; but, where their practice is so exactly contrary to the principles they pretend to profess, it is worth noticing.—Let it be observed, then, that they have taken thousands of *their* emigrants, *without the limits of their territory*, who had renounced their protection; yet every soul of them were put to the sword; not as Austrians, English or Dutch, but as Frenchmen, who still owed allegiance to France, and as such were dealt with as *traitors*. Now I humbly request the Citizen minister of the “terrible” bloody nation to tell me, what claim France had to the allegiance of these emigrants, if Britain had none to her emigrated sailors? It will not serve his turn, to say that they were found with arms in their hands, that circumstance alone could render them subjects of France; and besides, the British sailors might have been found in arms too: a neutral allegiance is no allegiance at all.

But, to come still closer to the point; the French seized several of their emigrants *without arms in their hands*, on the high seas, pursuing their peaceable commerce, *on board of neutral vessels* too, yea even on board of *American vessels*. Every man of these they also put to death; some they dragged on shore to the guillotine, others they threw into the sea alive, and others they hewed down with their sabres. Therefore, unless Citizen Adet will frankly declare, like a good full-blooded sans-culotte, that it is justifiable for a nation to claim the allegiance and seize on the persons of its emigrants, only for the purpose of cutting their throats, I must insist that the practice of his nation gives the
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lie direct to the principle on which his charge is founded.

It is a phenomenon in politics for a French minister to exert his *humane* influence in behalf of British subjects. How kind it was of the Convention to endeavour to extend their fatherly protection to these impressed seamen ! With what a philanthropic warmth they express their concern for them ! They are devilish careful of the bacon of a British tar, when they want to prevent him from being brought into action against them ; but when they have got him into their clutches they are not quite so tender of him. They have starved thousands of British prisoners this war. They were fed on rotten herbage for months together. They crammed them into dungeons, or rather charnel houses, and gave them *limed water* to moisten their dirty food. Above three thousand of these poor fellows, expired with burning entrails, in the different seaports of the treacherous and inhuman republic, only because they remained faithful to their country and loyal to their king.

I now come to the other description of impressed seamen : those who owed allegiance to America alone. And here I frankly declare, that I believe, many acts of rudeness, insolence, and even tyranny, have been committed by particular officers ; for there are some of them that would press their own mothers, if they were capable of standing before the mast. But, I can never credit all the lamentable stories that the hirelings of France have so industriously propagated on this subject. After a most piteous and pitiful picture of the distresses of the impressed seamen, drawn by that able painter, the taper-limbed and golden-hued Adonis of New York, who has been aptly enough compared to a poplar tree in autumn ; after as vigilant and spiteful an inquiry as ever was prosecuted by the spirit
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of faction, not more than *five* or *six* impressed seamen, of the description we are now speaking of, could be *named*; and with respect to these, the report of the secretary of state proved, that, where proper application had been made for their enlargement, it had always been immediately attended to, and had produced the desired effect.

It was in the course of this memorable investigation, that the generous Mr. Livingston proposed to furnish the British seamen, on board American vessels, with certificates of naturalization. These were intended to operate as a charm on the paws and bludgeons of the English press-gangs, or, at least, it is difficult to conceive for what other purpose they were intended. Was there any man in Congress fool enough to imagine, that the just claims of one nation could be annulled by the production of bits of sealed paper given to her subjects by another nation? The particular act, or the general law, by which foreigners are naturalized, may admit them to a participation in all the privileges and immunities enjoyed by the citizens of the state adopting them (which is, indeed, the sole end of naturalization), but can never weaken the claim of the parent state; otherwise *traitors* and *deserters*, by producing *certificates of naturalization*, might bid defiance to the just vengeance of their injured country.

As to the measures taken by the Federal Government, relative to the impressed seamen, they were such as the peculiar situation of America rendered wise. Mr. Jay endeavoured to obtain a stipulation, by which British seamen, found on-board American vessels, would have been exempted from the operation of the impress orders. This Great Britain refused, for the same reason that nations as well as individuals generally refuse to make a gratuitous sacrifice of what belongs to them. Agents
have

have since been appointed to attend to impressions, and when their interposition is warranted by the state of the case, there is every appearance that it will be productive of the end proposed, and that both parties will readily co operate for the preservation of harmony.

But, it is this cursed harmony that Citizen Adet and his masters do not approve of. They wish the government of the United States to imitate them, assume the tone of bullies, and so get into a war; or, at least, they wish Great Britain to be compelled to relinquish her claim to her sailors, while she stands in need of them to fight against her enemies. The former of these will not happen, in spite of French envy and malice; and as to the latter, it will never take place while Britain is able to beat France, Spain and Holland, on the seas, and that I trust she will be as long as there are men of war in the world and seas for them to fight on.

Thus far have I proceeded on this subject for the satisfaction of my reader: what remains to be said on it is intended for the satisfaction of Citizen Adet alone.—And now then, you terrible Envoy of the “terrible nation,” be so polite for once as to tell me, what business you, or your worthy predecessors, had to meddle or make with the impressment of American sailors. Your reading does not, indeed, seem to be very deep or extensive; but, if you have not read Grotius or Puffendorff, or any other civilian that treats of the *sovereignty* and *independence* of nations, you may probably have dipped into the *Mock Doctor* (which is a translation from your own comic poet), and if so, you must remember the fate of the fool that interfered in the disputes of other people.—You tell us, that Fauchet, writing to our government asked: “*What account do you conceive I can render to the French government of the means you take for*”
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“ rendering *your neutrality respectable* ? ” — This my good mounseer, is not language to be used to an *independent* nation : it is the style of a school-master to his idle scholar, of a guardian to his childish or profligate ward, or rather of a steward to the crouching vassals of his and their lord and master. Yet you have had the assurance to repeat the question, couched in still more hectoring and menacing terms, and pretend to be offended because the government has not deigned to make you a reply. — When your Convention were dragging their sovereign to a mock trial, and condemning him to an ignominious death, in open defiance of all law and justice ; cutting off his unfortunate sister and queen, after having drenched them with the dregs of humiliation, ten times bitterer than death ; cramming his son an innocent child, into a dungeon, ordering him to be kept from sleep, and finally — — — my pen refuses to trace the dastardly, the horrid deed. When they were butchering, by thousands, the faithful inhabitants of Lyons, and the brave peasants of La Vendée, whose names will be remembered with honour and renown, when their assassins will be howling in hell ; when they were in the midst of this base and bloody work, what would they have said, had the government of America called on them to hold their hands ? Would they not have rejected the interposition with scorn ? Would they not have added the Envoy to the group of an execution or the cargo of a drowning boat ? — By what article of *the rights of man* then, do they assume to themselves the office of dictators to this *free and independent nation* ? The assumption is an outrage on every principle of nature, of law, of justice and of policy : it can be surpassed by nothing on the annals of arrogance, and can be

equalled only by the impudence with which it is attempted to be exercised.

Dismissing this charge respecting impressed seamen, the length of my observations on which I am afraid has wearied my reader, I proceed to the remaining ones, on which I promise to be more concise.

“ 6. *The Federal Government eluded all the advances made by the French Republic for renewing the treaties of commerce upon a more favourable footing to both nations.*”

What does this learned Citizen mean by *treaties of commerce*? This country has but one treaty of commerce with France: the other is a treaty “*eventual and defensive.*” Perhaps, indeed, he may regard war as a species of commerce; and it must be allowed that this is the only commerce that can be carried on with his terrible republic at present. The kind of trucking commerce that she is carrying on in Italy, where she purchases a statue or a picture with the lives of ten thousand soldiers, may, to her, be advantageous enough, because she is a rich lady and a virtuoso; but to America, who is a plain homely dame, and has but little taste for such fine things, this commerce has but few charms: to her, one live farmer is of higher estimation than all the heroes and gods of antiquity.

I rather think, however, that Citizen Adet, ignorant as he may be, knows that a defensive treaty is not a treaty of commerce; and if so, he must know that there was but one treaty of commerce between the countries. But there were *two treaties* to be renewed, and, as it has always been held up to the people here, that their dear friends of France did not wish their prosperity to be interrupted by taking a part in the war, it would not do to talk about renewing a *defensive treaty*; that would have smelt of powder:
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yet he could not say, that the treaty of *commerce only* was proposed to be renewed, and so he has called them both treaties of commerce. The Citizen was hemmed in between a lie and an absurdity, and, to the credit of his morality, he has chosen the latter.

That the ground work of a new treaty, or a renewed treaty, with France, was to be our going to war with her enemies, has been so often and so incontestibly proved, that the fact is now universally acknowledged, except by the stipendaries of that pure-principled republic. But, were a proof yet wanting, Citizen Adet has furnished it, in the last page of his *Diplomatic Blunderbuss*. Here he tells us, that both Genet and Fauchet used their utmost to draw the government into a negotiation, but in vain; that it eluded all their friendly overtures.—Yes, and so it did indeed; just as the sheep eludes the friendly overtures of the wolf, and for much about the same reason.

After relating the grievous disappointment of his importunate predecessors, the Citizen goes on, and says, that he himself also made the same overtures for a negotiation, and adds:

“ On this subject the president authorized the
 “ secretary of state, who explained to the under-
 “ signed the manner in which they could proceed
 “ in it. But at what time? *When the ratification*
 “ *of the treaty concluded between Lord Grenville*
 “ *and Mr. Jay no longer permitted the undersigned to*
 “ *pursue that negotiation.*”——And why not?—
 Why not go on, man? If you had nothing to propose but “treaties of *commerce*, upon a footing *more favourable to both nations*,” how could the treaty with Great Britain prevent the pursuit of your negotiation?——The reason is plain: this treaty had happily put an end to all the disputes between America and Britain, and left you no

room to hope that your negotiation would rekindle the embers of discord. It was this consideration, and this alone, that thwarted your negotiations, that has since set the gall of your masters afloat, and that has now brought forth your impudent appeal from the government to the people.

The only question for the people to determine, then, is—not whether they wished the treaties to be renewed, but whether they wished for war, or not; and this question they have already determined *in the negative*. There once stood a majority in Congress ready to set the British treaty aside, and plunge this country into a war with that nation. A pause ensued: the people, the *real* people, had time to rally their good sense and break the hostile phalanx. Peace was echoed from every quarter of the Union. ‘Baffle the projects of our insidious friends, fulfil our engagements, keep our honour untarnished, and preserve to us the blessings of peace.’ This was the voice of the people of America, and, whatever opinion the Envoy of the “terrible nation” may entertain, his noisy *Blunderbuss* will not scare them into a revocation of the solemn decision.

But, after all, admitting for a moment, that the renewed treaty was not to engage this country in the war; nay, even admitting what is impossible, that the ferocious tyrants of France were about to confer a favour on us; how long, I pray, has it been a *crime to refuse a favour*? Every one has surely a right to say: *no, I thank you*. Yet this right, that is blamelessly exercised by the beggar at the door, is denied to the government of America! There are, indeed, certain nameless favours that a man cannot refuse, with any hope of forgiveness; and it would seem, that the French Republic looks upon herself in the light of a battered harridan despised by

by a lusty youth, and that she is now fulfilling the maxim of *Zara* :

“Heav’n has no scourge like love to hatred turn’d,
“Or hell a fury like a woman scorn’d.”

And thus she flings off the stage, shaking her dishevelled locks and brandishing her bloody dagger. — Let the meddling, jealous, blood-thirsty termagant go, and let Citizen Adet follow her in quality of train-bearer.

Thank God, we are at last come to the closing article of accusation.

“7. *The Federal Government anticipated Great Britain, by soliciting a treaty; in which treaty it prostituted its neutrality; it sacrificed France to her enemies, or rather, looking upon her as obliterated from the chart [map] of the world, it forgot the services she had rendered it, and threw aside the duty of gratitude, as if ingratitude was a governmental duty.*”

This is a complicated charge, comprising the crimes of meanness, prostitution, treachery and ingratitude. The meanness of “*anticipating* Great Britain by *soliciting* a treaty,” shall not detain us long.— When two nations form a treaty, it is clear that one or the other must make the first overtures, or the business could never be begun, and consequently never ended. I believe, therefore, that making the first proposition for a treaty, and particularly a treaty of commerce, was never before construed into an act of meanness. As for *soliciting*, this word, by which the Citizen wishes to convey an insinuation that Mr. Jay was haughtily received, at first rejected, and at last obliged to approach with humiliating condescension, nothing can be farther from the truth. His business was, to demand reparation of the wrongs sustained by America. When these were made known, Great Britain had her wrongs to oppose to them. Both parties

ties were, as their interests dictated, equally desirous of an accommodation ; and this desire was productive of a treaty, settling all old disputes, and making provisions for the avoiding of new ones. Now, I pray, in this simple and natural process, what is there to be discovered of meanness or humble solicitation ?

It is ever the fate of an inconsistency in words and actions, to expose itself to detection.—Citizen Adet accuses the American government of meanness, in anticipating Britain by soliciting a treaty of commerce, while, in the very same note, he takes a wonderful deal of pains to prove to the people here, that the French government not only *anticipated* America by *soliciting* a treaty, but also, that, after two successive ministers had *solicited* it in vain, the *solicitation* was continued by a third. God forbid I should attempt to justify America by the example of France ; but if soliciting a treaty be a crime, I beg the Citizen will take it from us and lay it respectfully at the feet of his terrible republic.

The charge proceeds to assert, that the government “*prostituted* its neutrality, and *sacrificed* “*France to her enemies.*”—This is too vague to be taken up as it lies before us ; except, indeed, it be the word *prostituted*, which may be dismissed at once, by observing, that it must have been picked up in the purlieus of the *Palais-Royal*, a place of which the Irish-Town of Philadelphia is a picture in miniature. To avoid the indecency therefore of joining it with the American government, I shall supply its place by the words *gave up*.

What the polite Citizen chiefly alludes to, then, in saying, that the government gave up its neutrality and sacrificed France to her enemies, is, that article of the British treaty which contains the stipulation respecting an enemy's goods, found on board the vessels of the United States, when these

these latter are neutral, with respect to Great Britain.

Want of room prevents me from entering fully into this subject, or I should not despair of stripping off all the million of absurdities, misrepresentations and downright falsehoods, in which the *prostituted* (here this word sounds well) partizans of France have disguised it. Perhaps, however, if I should be so happy as to place it in a clear light, brevity may be no disadvantage.

The stipulation of the treaty which we are about to examine, in substance says, that an enemy's goods found on board the vessels of the contracting parties, shall be looked upon as lawful prize. This, says Citizen Adet, is a violation of the *modern* law of nations: and this, says the government, is no such thing. As here is a flat contradiction, somebody must tell a lie; who it is I know not, but I am sure it is not the government at any rate.

Within what limits Citizen Adet means to circumscribe the word *modern*, I cannot exactly ascertain; but as, in another part of his *Blunderbuss*, he calls France the *ancient ally* of America, and as it is well known that this alliance began but *eighteen years and ten months ago*, it is probable he looks upon that only as the modern law of nations which commenced its operation at some time posterior to that epoch. Indeed, it is pretty clear that he supposes the modern law of nations to date its beginning from what he calls the "*New Style*;" and, in that case, thank heaven, we are ancients yet.

But, however cramped the signification may be, that this son of *Floréal* and *Fructidor* pleases to give to the word *modern*, we *Christians* know, that the modern law of nations means, that public law, or rather practice, which the modern nations of

Europe have observed towards each other. Now, with respect to commerce with an enemy, whoever examines the best writers on the subject, will find that, long since these nations assumed nearly their present relative state, it was the *general practice* to prohibit *all trade whatever* with an enemy.

As the nations grew more polished, and as their relations increased by means of maritime commerce, the rigour of this practice was gradually softened, till confiscation was at last confined to the vessels and property of enemies, to certain articles termed contraband of war, and to the *property of enemies found on board of neutral vessels*.

Thus far the relaxation became pretty general about the time of Queen Elizabeth. But some powers wished to extend the freedom of commerce still further; even so far as *to protect enemy's goods found on board of neutral vessels*; and to do this the Queen of England was one of the first to assert her right. The right was, however, disputed, and that too by the United Provinces, even before their independence was fully assured. They took some of her vessels laden with Spanish property, and condemned the cargoes, without paying freightage. The Queen at first resented this conduct in an infant state that was chiefly indebted to her for support; but, notwithstanding the well known tenacity and imperiousness of her disposition, her wisdom and justice prevailed, and she at last acquiesced in the legality of the captures.—Here then we have an instance of the practice of a nation of *modern birth*, a *republic* also, and a *republic engaged in a revolutionary war*.

I have at least a hundred examples of this nature now before me. But let us descend to still more *modern times*, and that the example may be, if possible, yet more strikingly applicable, let us appeal

appeal to the practice of the French nation itself.—The famous *Ordinance* of 1681, which might be called the navigation act of France, expressly declared to be good prize, not only the enemy's goods on board of a neutral vessel, but *the neutral vessel also*.

We are now got down to the close of the last century ; but as that may not be quite *modern* enough for our *Decadery* mounseer, let us continue to descend, still continuing our appeal to the practice of his own country.—The *Ordinance* of 1681 was mitigated by successive treaties, in which France, according as her interest prescribed, refused, or granted, the permission which Citizen Adet now sets up as a right : but, after these treaties, and even so late as 1757, she declared to the republic of Holland, that if any goods *belonging to her enemy* were found on board of Dutch vessels, such goods should be condemned as good prize, and to this declaration her practice was conformable, during the whole war which ended in 1763, only *thirty-three years ago*. So that, unless this man of the “ New Style ” will absolutely sansculotte us, and insist upon it that our fathers were antediluvians, and that we ourselves were born in the ages of antiquity, we must insist, on our part, that the principle adhered to in the treaty between Great Britain and America, is a principle of the *modern law of nations*, and moreover is sanctioned by the practice of France.

But, says the Citizen, *France adopted a different principle in her treaty with America*.——France had her interested motives for that, of which I could say a great deal more if I pleased. Let that be as it may ; what had her treaty to do with Great Britain ? She is *independent* I hope, if America is not. France did not “ work her liberty ” too, I humbly presume ; and I presume also, that the treaty between
 between

tween America and France is not the code to which all the modern nations are to appeal for a decision of their rights. The fact is, this principle is either adopted, or not adopted, according to the interests and situations of the contracting parties: as these vary, nations act differently at different times and towards different nations. It is a matter merely conventional, and solely dependant on circumstances, as much as any other stipulation of a treaty.

The Citizen has one more fetch; which I think is the most impudent piece of sophistry that ever was attempted to be palmed upon a nation. A nation, did I say! Why, a nation of Indians would have romahawked him, and we should now see his skin hanging up in the shops for sale, had he offered to chouse them in such a barefaced manner. —I allude to that part of his *Blunderbuss*, where he says, that America violated her treaty with France, by *granting* to Britain the *favour* of seizure, which she had not *granted* to France, though she was to be treated in the same manner as “the *most favoured nation*.”

The sophistry of this consists in confounding *favour* with *right*, terms almost as opposite in signification as *right* and *wrong*. —America conferred *no favour*, when, by treaty, she declared that Great Britain should seize enemies' goods on board of her vessels: she only acknowledged the existence of Great Britain's right so to do. Nor was this acknowledgment absolutely necessary: but, some nations having retained the exercise of the right, and others having relinquished it; it was a prudent precaution against future disputes, to declare, by express stipulation, whether it was retained or relinquished in the present instance.

It is clear, therefore, that the stipulation in the treaty with France, which says, that she “shall be
“treated

“ treated in the same manner as *the most favoured nation*,” must be totally inapplicable to a case, wherein no *favour* is, or can be, conferred. However, as the construction given to this has been the ground work of much complaint and even calumny, it may not be amiss here to explain its true meaning.

The stipulation for *equal favour* then, which is to be found in most treaties of commerce now existing in the world, extends to the effects of the municipal laws and regulations of the contracting parties. It implies an *equality in duties*, in *tonnage*, in the permission *to have consuls*; all which, and many others, may properly be called *favours*: but, it can never be construed to extend to any one of the great rights of national sovereignty. If this were the case, all the advantageous stipulations of a treaty made with one power, would be applicable to every other power, in a treaty with which this usual stipulation for equal favour was found: and of this we shall see the monstrous absurdity in a minute.—America, for instance, has treaties with Spain, Great Britain and France, in all which the stipulation for equal favour exists. In the treaty with Spain, America allows to that nation a free navigation on the American part of the Mississippi; but does she allow this to Britain and France? In that with Great Britain, America allows her a free navigation and trade on her rivers, lakes, &c. and Britain allows the same freedom to America on hers; but does either of them extend this permission to France or Spain, or any other nation? Yet they are obliged to do this, if the stipulation for *equal favour* admits of the construction, which the maritime Goths wish to impose on us, in support of their attack on the commerce of America.

The subject then is thus brought to a close: the seizure of an enemy's goods on board of neutral vessels

vessels is a right of national sovereignty, which every *independent* nation may, in her treaties, retain or give up, according to the dictates of her interests or her will. In the treaty between Britain and America this right is reciprocally retained; in that between America and France it is reciprocally given up. Great Britain naturally adheres to her treaty; America adheres to hers with both nations; and it only remains for us to see how that between America and France has been adhered to, by the despots who have seized on the wealth and the power of that unfortunate nation.

Soon after the commencement of the present war, the Convention ordered all enemies' goods on board of American vessels to be seized, notwithstanding the positive stipulation to the contrary. This order, dictated by the insolence of success, was consequently revoked, when the scale of victory turned. After this, the famished state, to which the infernal revolution had reduced that once flourishing country, and the farce of friendship which it was necessary to keep up, in order to engage this country in the war, for some time withheld the Convention from further depredations on our commerce: but, being baffled in their war project by the treaty with Britain, and imagining (vainly I trust) that America would be terrified by their victories, and the consequences these might produce, they issued on the 2d of July last, a decree for renewing their spoliations, and for seizing all enemies' property on board of American vessels, which decree Citizen Adet communicated to the Secretary of State, and to the *people*, on the 27th of October.

The perfidy and tyranny of this conduct are nothing, when compared to the manner in which they are brazened out.—The Citizen first sends the Secretary of State a Note, enclosing the unprincipled

cipled decree. The Secretary, in answer, expresses the uneasiness of the President, at such a flagrant violation of the treaty. To this the Frenchman has the assurance to reply, that it is “the *resolution of a government terrible to its enemies, but generous to its allies* ;” and, as he elsewhere calls the government of America, the *enemy of France*, he menacingly leaves us to conclude, that *generosity* is to be the portion of others, while *dreadful chastisement* is in reserve for us.—We may pardon the threats of a simple bully; we may even forgive a sharper or a robber, but when he has the impudence to justify his conduct, and that too with his filthy fist at our mouths, there is no degree of resentment, no mortal means of vengeance, adequate to the insult.

Thus have I had patience to go through the mock charges, which the despots of France have dared to prefer against the free, equitable, and beneficent government of America. I shall take the liberty of adding a few miscellaneous observations, which would be dispensed with, fearing the reader is already too much fatigued, did not the crisis of affairs seem to demand them now, or never.

The first thing that calls, and most loudly calls, for reprobation, is, the contemptuous manner in which the Frenchman treated the government, by communicating his *Notes to the people*, at the same time, or before, they were received by the President.

The sole right of making communications of this nature to the people of a state, so evidently belongs to its government, and is so essential to the very existence of every government, that it is not surprizing, that the first violation of it should have been reserved for the heathenish French. Former barbarians ever respected this
right :

right: the laws of decency had some influence on their uncultivated minds; but the barbarians, or rather the savages, of Paris, have set those and all other laws human and divine, at defiance. They seem to look upon themselves as the children of the devil, and to have assumed in virtue of their father, the right of prowling about the earth, disturbing the peace of mankind, by scattering the seeds of rebellion and bloodshed.

Their agents have long been practising their fiend-like temptations on the people of this country. They have proceeded from one degree of malice to another, till at last their late minister Adet (for whom I wish I could find a name worse than his own) makes a direct attempt to inflame the people against the government.—After telling them, that the Convention has ordered their vessels to be seized (contrary to treaty), he proceeds: “And now, if the execution of these measures *gives rise to complaints* in the United States, it is not against France they should be directed, but against those men, who have entered into negotiations contrary to the interests of *their country*.”—Just as if he had said, pointing to the President, the Senate and Officers of State: ‘there they are; rise on them, cut their throats, and choose others more pliant to our will.’—His words do not amount to this, ’tis true; but in his country a hint far less intelligible, would have been perfectly understood, and would not have failed of the desired effect. Happily he was not haranguing a Parisian mob. Whatever foolish partiality some of us may have had, and may yet have for France, nature has been so kind as not to make us Frenchmen.

The insult on the people too; the despicable opinion he must have of their understandings and their hearts, is past all bearing.—I know a little Island, which America was once proud to emulate,

late, that would suffer itself to be sunk into the sea, rather than patiently put up with such an abominable outrage.—In the reign of *Queen Anne*, when a Tory Ministry, aided by an intriguing Frenchman, were treating for a separate peace with Louis XIV, the Imperial Minister, *Count Gallas*, in order to prepossess the people of England against the peace, caused the transaction to be published, *as an article of news*, in one of the daily papers. This step, though it could not be looked upon as an appeal to the people, was so much resented by the Queen, that she ordered him to quit the kingdom immediately; and in this she was supported by the unanimous voice of the nation; who, notwithstanding they disapproved of a peace which was to sacrifice the great advantages obtained by their arms under the immortal Duke of Marlborough, justly and manfully resented the attempt of a foreign minister to step in between them and their own sovereign, however blameable her measures might be.

And, shall it be said of the people of America, that they are less attached to a government of their own choosing, and that has never for a moment lost sight of their interests? No; it would be unjust to say this. The people are impatient of the insult, and their confidence in the wisdom of their chief is the only thing that could keep them pacified.

To express a hatred to the *government* and affect friendship for the *people* who live under it, and thus arraign the former at the bar of the latter, is the unbearable tone which the despots of Paris have assumed to all the nations of Europe; and at last it is come to the turn of America. They did not declare war against the Germans, the English, and the Dutch; but against the Emperor, the King of England, and the Stadtholder.

The

The Germans and the English did not believe them; they knew them of old. The Dutch sucked in the bait, and now they know them too. They have paid dearly for the fraternai hug. God send they may squeeze them to the size of shotten herrings; that they may not leave even a frog to sport in their canals; that they may eat up the very herbage, like the locusts in Egypt. These poor degraded devils, who never ceased their clamours for *liberty and equality*, till they had driven into exile the princely family of *Orange*, to whom they owed the birth and the preservation of their *real* liberties, their riches, and their power, are now obliged to yield their houses and even their beds to the filthy raggamuffin sans-culottes.—This may be truly called *political justice*, and I sincerely hope it may fall on the heads of every people capable of acting the same treacherous and dastardly part. That this part will not be acted by America I am certain, and if Citizen Adet had known the dispositions of the people, he never would have dared to hold out the temptation.

After the perfidy, injustice and malice we have been witness of, it would seem strange to hear any other than a Frenchman talking about French *friendship*.—I, for my part, had long wished to know in what this friendship consisted. I had often heard of it and read of it, and read about it, especially in *Poor Richard's* gazette; but never could discern any thing palpable in it. It all seemed to consist in negatives. It appeared something like platonic love; or like the girl that brought a fortune of twenty thousand pounds in the excellence of her disposition.—As my mind is too gross to be satisfied with this abstract kind of friendship, I was led to seek for something more solid in the Citizen's Notes. The reader will see how I was disappointed. "The alliance with America," says he,

he, "was always dear to Frenchmen; they have "done every thing to *tighten its bands*."—Just as the Jack Catch does; and we were one time actually upon the point of strangling.—"But "the government has sought to break them."——
 ——Here's a fellow for you! They were tucking us up, and he has the conscience to blame the government for cutting the halter!——Again: "*As soon as the war broke out between France and England*, American vessels were permitted to "trade to the West Indies and France, upon the "same footing as French vessels."—All that is wanting to make this an act of *friendship*, is, the permission should have been granted *before* the war broke out. After it broke out, both the Islands and France must have starved, if an advantage had not been offered to draw American produce to them; and even this has been a losing game; for one half of this produce has never been paid for in Christian coin. So that, the great act of friendship amounts to our liberty of keeping themselves from starving and of receiving bundles of assignats as a recompense.—"The French government heard "the complaints of the United States, against Genet, and immediately gave *the most striking reparation*."——It was certainly very gracious in them to hear these complaints, and a very striking reparation to suffer Genet to remain here to insult the government by his presence; but, if I am not mistaken, this gracious condescension was in consequence of Genet's *threatening to do of his own head*, just what Adet *has now done, by their order*; appeal from the government to the people. Hence we must inevitably conclude, that Genet was displaced because he did not go far enough, or because he deprived them of the pleasure of dragging us; and this I take to be no very great proof of family affection.—We are now coming

to the close, the very bottom of the budget of friendship; the reception of the American flag, by the Convention.—“What joy did not the American flag inspire, when it waved unfurled in the French Senate! *Tender tears trickled from each eye.* Every one looked at it with amazement. “There, said they, is the symbol of the *independence of our American brethren.*”—Shameful farce! The flag was received as a symbol of voluntary subjection, instead of independence; and, had I been President, the Ambassador who dared to give colour to such an idea, should not have had it in his power to degrade his country a second time.

It must have been curious to see the *tender tears trickling* from the eyes of Robespierre and the rest of those sanguinary villains, who were daily employed in butchering the human species, *tearing out their entrails, biting their hearts and lapping their gore.* They wept blood instead of brine, I suppose.

When you go home, Citizen Adet, to your “terrible nation,” which I hope in God will be very soon, I will send, to those of your weepers whom the justice of heaven has not yet overtaken, a copy of the *Bloody Buoy*: they will see something there that has drawn tears from the eyes of *Americans*, and that has made too deep an impression on their hearts to be worn away even by the hand of time. This compendium of tyranny, brutality, ferociousness and infamy, is read by the rising generation of America: it sinks into the memory as the plummet into the stream, and, till the plummet shall glide along the surface like a feather, the name of *French Republican* will awaken the idea of all that is perfidious and bloody minded.

The

The trickling tears of the Convention, at the sight of a bit of linsey-woolsey, puts me in mind of Mark Anthony and his mob of blubbering plebeians. "Kind souls!" says he, "do you weep at the sight of Cæsar's *garment* only? What will you do then, when you see Cæsar himself." Upon which he shows them the corpse, and the rascals, who would have knocked his brains out if he had not been dead, begin bellowing like so many town bulls round a buxom heifer.—The Convention would not have acted this silly part by America. If they could have got "*Cæsar himself*" under their clutches, they would have completed the farce of the Crocodile; dried up their tears and fell to cracking our bones.

Whether the French Convention did really cry, or whether the tears flowed, or rather trickled, from the leaky imagination of Citizen Adet, I know not; but this I know, that the reception of their flag produced just a contrary effect here. What makes them weep, makes us laugh; and what makes them laugh, makes us weep. Thank heaven, we are exactly their opposite in every thing!

From *French tenderness* we naturally turn to *British barbarity*. They form a contrast like the gem and the foil, and therefore the Citizen, who is at once a statesman and an orator, has, with great art and judgment, contrived to squeeze them close together in the peroration of his *Blunderbuss*. "Alas!" says he, "time has not yet demolished the fortifications with which the English roughened this country—nor those the Americans raised for their defence; their half rounded summits still appear in every quarter, *amidst plains, on the tops of mountains*. The traveller need not search for the ditch which served to encompass them; it is still open under his feet. Scattered ruins of houses laid waste, which the fire had

“ partly respected, in order to leave monuments
 “ of British fury, are still to be found.—Men still
 “ exist, who can say, here a ferocious Englishman
 “ slaughtered my father; there my wife tore her
 “ *bleeding daughter* from the hands of *an unbridled*
 “ *Englishman*. Alas! the soldiers who fell under
 “ the sword of the Britons are not yet reduced to
 “ dust; the labourer, in turning up his field, still
 “ draws from the bosom of the earth their whiten-
 “ ed bones; while the ploughman, with tears of
 “ tenderness and gratitude, still recollects, that his
 “ fields, now covered with rich harvests, have
 “ been *moistened with French blood*; while every
 “ thing around the inhabitants of this coun-
 “ try animates them to speak of the *tyranny of*
 “ *Great Britain* and of the *generosity of French-*
 “ *men*.”

I have till now avoided quotations as much as possible; but I could not resist the temptation to cull this fairest flower of the diplomatic posey. Some imaginations are said to rush forward like a flood, others to flow like a stream, and others to glide like a current; but poor Citizen Adet's neither rushes, flows, nor glides: it trickles, like the eyes of his masters; it drains, it dribbles, it drops.—Dear Citizen, if you love me (of which I much doubt, by the bye), never again employ your eloquence to rouse the passions; for it lays them as completely as the cold hand of death. Instead of inflaming, you freeze us: instead of firebrands, you turn us into icicles.—No; when you wish to excite the vengeful feelings, keep to your insolence; that is your *fort*; there your talents will ever ensue you the same success as they have done on the present occasion.

And were you so vain, so completely the Frenchman, as to imagine, that this tasteless, turgid, hyperbolical nonsense of yours, would make the people

ple of America believe, that *ferocity* is the characteristic of Britons? A little reflection might have told you that your malignant endeavours would be in vain. Two-thirds of the inhabitants of these States are of British descent: they know that the ashes of their forefathers sleep in the island of Britain. They know also, that only twenty years ago they were justly proud of being called Britons themselves; and though a political revolution has rendered that name no longer proper, they know that no revolution has taken place in their national character. To charge the British character with ferocity then, is saying to the Americans: "I do not call you a set of ferocious rascals; but you are of a d—d ferocious breed."

To retaliate here would be superfluous; for the ferocity of the French is now acknowledged by themselves even. But, when I hear a man talk about *whitened bones*, and assert that "every thing animates the inhabitants of this country to speak of the *tyranny of Britain* and the *generosity of Frenchmen*," I am naturally led to look back to the cruel and savage war, which these *generous Frenchmen* carried on against the inhabitants of this country, and in which they would have succeeded in exterminating the whole of them, had it not been for the protecting "*tyranny of Britain*."

In the charge of ferocity which Citizen Adet has brought against the British, he contents himself with a flourish of mere hyperbole, as destitute of novelty and elegance as it necessarily is of truth. He has not attempted to produce a single fact in support of his slander, and for this best of reasons, because he knew no such fact was to be found. I shall proceed in a different manner. I shall give such damning proof of the *generosity of Frenchmen* towards the people of America as will leave no room for denial.

During the savage war of 1757, above alluded to, when the French had formed a chain of posts stretching from the Bay of Funday to the Mississippi, with the intention of subjugating these states or else driving the people into the sea, they took several forts, and, for a long time, had pretty general success : what use they made of it, how *generous* they were, will appear from the following account of their capture of *Fort William Henry*. I am not about to repeat a vague report. I am not even appealing to the history of England, or the writings of Englishmen. I am going to copy, what was said, written and printed, by Americans themselves. I could apply to many American publications of the time ; but I choose, for many reasons, to draw this proof of the “ *generosity of Frenchmen*,” from *Doctor Franklin* himself.

In his paper, published at Philadelphia on the 25th August, 1757, after saying that the fort surrendered by capitulation, with leave to march out with the honours of war, he proceeds thus : “ The *French* immediately after the capitulation, “ *most perfidiously* let their bloodhounds loose upon our people. Some got off, the rest were stripped stark naked ; many were killed and scalped, officers not excepted. The throats of the “ women were cut, their *bellies ripped open*, their “ *bowels turned out*, and *thrown upon the faces of* “ *their yet palpitating bodies*. The children were “ taken by the heels, and *their brains beat out* “ *against the trees or stones*, and not one of them “ saved.”

The Doctor then observes, that this *cruelty of the French* is nothing new ; for that, “ they massacred several hundreds of General Braddock’s “ *wounded men*, that they murdered their prisoners “ near Ticonderoga, and all the *sick and wounded* of

“ of the garrison of Oswego, *notwithstanding the previous capitulation.*” He concludes thus: “ To what a pitch of *perfidy and cruelty is the French nation arrived!* Would not an ancient heathen shudder with horror on hearing so hideous a tale. Could the most savage nations ever exceed such *French barbarity?* *It is hard for an Englishman* to kill his enemy that lies at his feet, begging his life; but will not our armed men in future be obliged to refuse all quarter? *Consider of it my countrymen; take advice, and speak your minds*”—In another place the Doctor exclaims: “ The Lord knows what *French treachery* will do. *When shall we have revenge?*”

I do not know Citizen Adet's person, I cannot therefore tell whether his cheeks be covered with buff or not. From his notes, I should rather suppose they are; but if they are not, he must blush himself to death upon comparing the Old Doctor's account of *French generosity* with his own.—He will say; perhaps, that it was the French *king*, and not *the nation*, that these cruelties must be attributed to. Well then, it is the *king* and not *the nation*, that the aid this country received last war must be attributed to. In both instances, the king was the director and his people the actors; with this remarkable distinction, that, it is certain the troops that came to America were always sent by him, while it is not certain that he ever ordered them to turn human butchers when they got here.

Let us now take a view of “ the *generosity* of “ Frenchmen,” towards America, from the bloody times above mentioned to the present day.

When, by the united valour and perseverance of America and Britain, they were driven from this continent, they laid in watch, as the devil is said to do when he sees a happy couple, for an

opportunity of effecting a separation between the two countries. With this opportunity the folly of the British administration soon furnished them. Yet they at first hesitated whether the independence of this country would be advantageous to them or not: but, revenge, and that great object of their policy, the humbling of their rival, at last got the better; and the alliance with the United States was concluded on. This step, however, did not take place till after the Congress had issued their Declaration of Independence, and even after those victories were obtained, which gave the decisive blow to the British power in America.—Some of their troops landed here; but what did they do? Citizen Adet tells us about “*fields moistened with French blood*,” and says, “*that the ploughman now sheds tears of tenderness*,” when he is turning them up. This is as silly as the talk of the mad wench in one of Gay’s farces, when she exclaims: “O, dear delightful streams of cream! “Rivers of milk and seas of honey!”—French blood! I would be glad to know how it was spilt, unless they poked spear-grass up their noses, like Sir John Falstaff and his bullies. They did nothing here. They were never engaged. They only seemed to come to look on a bit, and go home and brag about *giving liberty to America*. Their fleets were out, to be sure; but they were fighting (or rather running away) for France and not for America. Taking British Islands in the West Indies was just as serviceable to this country then, as robbing the peasants of Germany now is.—So much for their warlike *generosity*.

As their object in making war had been to weaken Great Britain, and not to render this country free and independent, so, when the terms of peace came to be proposed, they soon made it appear, that they wished to *transfer the dependance from*
 Britain

Britain to themselves. To this end they attempted to exclude America from the fisheries on one side, and from the Western countries on the other. This would have at all times exposed the States to the power of the British, and the natural consequence would have been, a continual dependance on France. It was owing to Messrs. John Adams and Jay that this was not effected, and this is the reason why they are now so hated and abused by the French faction.—There's *generosity* for you!

Thus far went the *insidious* friendship of the old government: that of the mock republic has been a thousand times worse.

First they sent Genet to raise an insurrection in the country: but finding that he had failed, they pretended to recal him; leaving him here, however, to insult the government. Now they even justify all that he did, and complain of the treatment he received.

Fauchet we find dabbling in the Western rebellion, and writing home to the Convention, his regret that it had been quelled, and his fear that it might tend to consolidate the government. Can any man be fool enough to imagine, that Fauchet would have written in this manner, had he not been well assured, that the Convention thought like himself?

If any one doubted of this before, he can now doubt no longer. Adet has thrown off the mask for them. They repealed their first decree for seizing American vessels; they pretended to be sorry for the insolence of Genet; but now they repeat their decree, and make that very appeal to the people, which they displaced Genet for talking about! *Generous* fellows!—Who would have thought, while they were weeping over our flag, and sending theirs to be wept over here, and writing

love letters to the Congress, and sending us their new plan for *weighing* bread and butter *by sines and tangents*; Lord curse them! Who would have thought, I say, while all this loving mummery was going forward; while they were hugging and squeezing, and slavering over with snuff and foam, their dear "American brethren;" who would have thought that no less than *seven* heads of accusation lay rankling in their bosoms!—"A friend," says Citizen Adet, "injured by a friend, may safely complain, without fear of giving offence."—Yes; but then he must complain *like a friend*, and not like a bully. He must not talk of his horse-whip or his cane. He must not come with *terror* in his mouth; or friendship takes its flight, and resentment succeeds. Besides, "a friend injured by a friend," complains at once: he does not treasure up the injury in his mind, and reserve it for the day of his strength. He does not hug, and kiss, and hang on the neck of his friend, and weep for joy at the sight of his *garment*; he does not keep up this farce for four long years, and at last, when he sees that hypocrisy avails him nothing, come and rip up his grievances, and threaten vengeance. This is not the conduct of an *injured friend*, but that of "an insidious d—d Iago," as Peter Pindar calls the French; and such they have been, and will be, to this and every other country, that has the folly to place any dependance in their friendship.

Their audacious interference, too, in the election of a chief magistrate for this country, is another mark of their *generosity*, their tender care of us. "Let your government *return to itself*," says the Citizen, "and the *Directory* will temper the effects of its *resentment*."—I wonder what sort of fellows this *Directory*, as they call it, is composed of: whether they are shaped like gods or devils,
or

or what they are like, that they should dare to talk in this manner to an independent nation, that they have no more power over than they have over heaven. What a poor beggarly puff, for a man as much fit to be a President as I am to be an Archbishop! A man who is a deist by profession, a philosopher by trade, and a Frenchman in politics and morality: a man who has written a passport for Tom Paine's *Rights of Man*, and would, if necessary, write another for his infamous Letter to General Washington: a man, in short, who is at the head of the prostituted party by whose intrigues he has been brought forward and is supported. If this man is elected President, the country is sold to the French; and, as plantations are generally sold with the live stock on them, I shall remove my carcass; for I am resolved never to become their property. I do not wish my family vault to be in the guts of cannibals.

Paine's Letter to General Washington is the last pretty little proof of French *generosity*. I have no room here to say any thing as to the contents of this superlatively insolent and infamous performance; but it is clear that the old ruffian has been ordered to write it by the Convention. It was written nearly about the same time that the decree for seizing American vessels was passed; it was expected that Adet's communications would stir up the people, and these sweepings of Tom's brain were intended to finish the work: nor have I the least doubt but they are now enjoying the hope, that General Washington's head is kicking about the streets of Philadelphia.

Such has been "the *generosity of Frenchmen*" towards the people of America. From the continuation of this generosity I think we have little to hope, and I am certain we shall find that we have as little to fear from their resentment.

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The dispute between the two countries stands thus: France has violated the treaty, and impudently insists, that she will continue in the violation of it, at the same time that her minister first insults the government, and then declares himself suspended, "till the government returns to itself."—What then is to be done? Statues and curiosities we have none to stop their mouths with; unless, indeed, it be the statue from over the library door. We might also spare them Mr. Jefferson's pivot-chair and his great bull Mammoth; to which they might add Mr. Jefferson himself, for it does not appear that he will be wanted on this side the water. But this would not satisfy them. What is to be done, then? Is the government to *return to itself*, beg pardon of the "terrible nation" for having issued a proclamation of neutrality; for having declined a treaty with them, and for having formed one with Great Britain? Is this to be the conduct of America, whose chief boast is her *independence*? Is she to become a poor little twinkling star that is to hide its head at the rays of the *Grande République Française*? Is she at last to be governed by a gang of assassins with their long *couteau* at her throat? A pretty kind of *independence* truly! If this is to be the case, she has changed a British parent for a French master: from a child in leading-strings she has become a grown-up slave in chains.

But this will not be the case. This government will insist upon the fulfilment of the treaty, or will declare it null and void for ever. They will no longer suffer the country to be tantalized with decrees, and revocations, and suspensions, and threats. They will say—'Do us justice, and leave us to manage our own affairs, or we have done with you;' and in this they will be supported by the voice of the people, however Citizen Adet may flatter himself to the contrary.

The

The *terrible tone* was the worst that the Guiltine Legislators could have assumed here. It may do well enough with the Brabançons, the Dutch, the Savoyards and the Italians; but it will never do with Americans, who of all mankind are the last to yield to compulsion. The quarrel with Great Britain which finally brought about the independence of this country, was merely about the word *force*. The colonies were willing to *give* the amount of the taxes imposed, but they would not suffer it to be said that they were *forced to do it*. When I was a little boy, my elder brother, in order to get my share of the apple pudding, used to say—"PETER, I *order* you to eat."—That very instant my jaws refused their functions, and the morsel stuck in my throat. To be sure I was a most obstinate dog, and I am inclined to think that the mounseers will find their dear little Miss America to be much about of the same temper. The people of this country are the descendants of Britons and Germans, and they are made of the same stubborn kind of stuff as their ancestors. With good words you may lead them far, but with bad ones not a single step: to their humanity you may always appeal with assurance of success, but never to their fears: like the oak, they may be crushed and shivered to splinters, but no mortal power will ever make them bend.

Some people imagine that France will declare war against us. France dares do no such thing. France knows better. No; the most she will do, is, to persevere in the violation of the treaty, and consequently *break off all connexion with the United States*; and this is just what is wanted. Then we should get rid of the council of old ones, and the council of young ones, and the five sovereigns, that are born and expire in rotation, and Citizen Genet and Citizen Adet, and all the Faro bank and billiard

liard table men, and all the dingy offspring of French delicacy, and, which will be the greatest blessing, we shall get rid of the monstrous unnatural faction that they kept alive to goad, torment and weaken the government, and divide the country against itself. Would they but break off from us, we should avoid that degradation of manners, which their impious system must inevitably produce, wherever it gains ground to any extent. Their diabolical agents are now seeking for proselytes in every state and township of the Union. I believe that Bache's atheistical Calendar is paid for by the French, as much as I believe that Paine's Age of Reason was. They both come from the same press, and are intended to answer the same purpose; and that purpose is, to corrupt the hearts of the people, make them emulate the French in every thing that is vile and savage; to destroy the government, and throw the country into the power of France. There is much more to be apprehended here than from their direct threats. Their wild and blasphemous doctrines will have little effect on people of sense; but they may have, and they will have, as they already have had, on ignorance and youth. Youth is ever caught with novelty, and ambitious of superior discernment. The panders of Paris have always addressed themselves to this part of society: they succeeded completely in France, and I am much afraid their success has been but too promising here. The sooner, therefore, the country is purged of them, the better. Every year, every month, every day, they become more dangerous. Let them then go. A war, generally termed the scourge of nations, is a blessing, when compared with what we have to expect from their disorganizing impious principles and perfidious intrigues.

But,

But, no declaration of war will come from them. They know better than to relinquish their hold. They will stick to us like a burr. They can be as haughty as Lucifer, and they can be as mean. When they cannot with majestic stature scale the walls of Paradise, they can shrink themselves into the shape of a toad, and creep in at a chink. When they perceive, that we are not be scared, that we laugh at their "*terrible nation*" and their "*tempered resentment*" they will become as mild as milk-maids, and say they *were only joking*. They will repeal their *decree* for seizing our vessels; they will pretend to cry again, and their Citizen will tell us about their "*sweet sentiments*," and we shall have another flag sent, and so all will be made up. —The reader who consults only his own heart will say that this is impossible; but let him recollect whom we have to deal with: the French Convention; men who make a sport of the violation of treaties and of oaths; who have banished every idea of shame and remorse, and according to whose standard of retrograde refinement, meanness is commensurate with weakness and misfortune, and insolence with power and success.

However, though I am certain that the French will not go to war with America, I am as certain that America must soon go to war with them.—Let not the reader start. He must accustom himself to think and to talk on the subject, and the sooner he begins the better. I am not foretelling the day of judgment nor a second deluge; but am speaking of an object that may be looked at with calmness, as I make no doubt it will be encountered with success.

There is every reason to believe (indeed, with me the fact is certain), that Spain has ceded Louisiana to France. This will put the French in possession of all our western frontier, give them the free navigation

tion of the Mississippi, and then I beg any one to cast his eye over the map of the United States, and see the exposed situation in which they will be placed.

France has had this in contemplation ever since the peace of 1783, and the Spanish part of Saint Domingo, lately ceded to her, and with which she can do nothing, now furnishes her with an object of exchange. Besides, the King of Spain can refuse the French nothing, or he certainly would not have entered into a league with the murderers of the head of his family, and have supplied atheists with troops to carry on a marauding war on the Catholic States of Italy, and the defenceless head of the church.

The French, once in possession of Louisiana, will give law to the Mississippi, and when we consider the prevalent spirit and politics of the western people in general, the distance they are at from the seat of government, and the seductive arts of their new neighbours, there is little reason to hope, that they will long remain obedient to the United States. The new inhabitants of Louisiana will be made up of the profligate French soldiery, who will be prevailed on by splendid promises to transport themselves to this country, but who will be fit for nothing but pillage and war.

With such a hold on the back countries, and such a party in the Atlantic ones as they now have, a division of the Union must be the consequence. The southern States, where very little of that independence of spirit prevails, which resists the encroachments of an ambitious foe, will soon become an appendage to France. The middle and northern States may, at the expense of bloody wars, preserve their independence for a while; but, at last, harrassed and fatigued with the burden of defending themselves, they will call in the aid of Great Britain;

Britain; and thus the basis of an empire will once more be cut out into colonies and provinces.

Those who rely on the friendly professions of the French, I refer to the instances of their friendship which we have witnessed in the course of these observations. Let any one read the intercepted letter of Fauchet, and recollect that it was written in confidence to the government, and doubt, if he can, that the counties then in a state of insurrection would have been supported by France, if she had been in possession of the territory she is now about to acquire. Such opportunities will continually offer, as long as faction exists, and that it ever will do, as long as there is any thing to contend for. To judge of the future by the present tranquillity, is to presume that the billows have ceased to roll, because we see the sea in a calm.

Ever since the peace of 1783, France has beheld the commerce, carried on between America and Great Britain, with a watchful, jealous, and envious eye. At first she endeavoured to turn the channel towards herself; but that having failed, she fell on the plan of subjugation. A French writer in treating of this subject observes, that "it would be a balance against the *loans* of England to the *Atlantic merchants*." By *loans* he means the *credit* given by the British merchants, and which is indeed a mine of gold to the farmers and merchants of America. There is something really diabolical in this envy. They would sooner the country should be torn to pieces than it should trade with their rival.

They well know, that there is but one check to their ambitious projects; and that is, an alliance offensive and defensive between Great Britain and America. They know, that by such an alliance they would be deprived of all their possessions in the West Indies, and would be excluded from the

Atlantic seas. This alliance once formed, America might forbid them to set a foot in Louisiana, or might drive them and their "*natural* allies," the Spaniards, into the Gulph of Mexico. It is with the consciousness of this on their minds, that they have been so sedulous in forming a faction to oppose every accommodating step, and every advance towards friendship, between the two countries. They have the Machiavelian maxim, "divide and you govern," continually in their eye. They wish to keep them asunder, that they may devour them one at a time.

The most disagreeable circumstance at present, is, this cession of Louisiana will not be perfectly ascertained, till after the general peace; so that, though Great Britain is nearly as much interested in the event as America, she can take no steps to prevent it, because she will be disarmed before it be known; and their myrmidons will be in possession of their promised land, before any measures of prevention can be adopted on the part of America. Something, however, must be done to preserve us from such neighbours, or the independence of this country will go to the grave before us. National precautions must be left to the rulers of the state, but every man has it in his power to contribute towards the discouragement of faction, that, at any rate, though there should be an enemy on the frontiers, there may be none in the heart of the country.

Such is the situation of America with respect to the insidious, unprincipled, insolent, and perfidious Republic of France; and it only remains for the virtue and public spirit of the people to determine, what sort of answer ought to be given to her presumptuous and domineering minister. Let it be well remembered, that the notes, containing his calumnious accusations, his contemptuous defiance and

and hectoring threats, are not the effusions of a paragraphist or a pamphleteer : they are the official communications of a public minister, thrown in the teeth of the nation. In less than two months they will be read and commented on by half the civilized world. Those who know the American character will not be deceived ; but far the greater part, will set us down as a nation of sharpers or poltroons, who have either not honesty to support our reputation, or not courage to defend it. If there be a man, who, with this reflection on his mind, can wish the government to stoop, and cringe, and sue and beg for peace, to court a repetition of the buffet that yet tingles in our cheek, he may boast about *independence*, he may even call himself a *patriot* ; but his independence is an empty sound, and he knows no more of the animating glow of patriotism, where affection, duty and honour unite, than the slave knows of the charms of liberty, or the eunuch of the sweets of love.—No ; the answer of every man, who loves his country and feels the insult it has received, yet prefers the blessings of honourable peace to the inevitable calamities of war, is, in the words of a good old English king that conquered France and all that France contained :

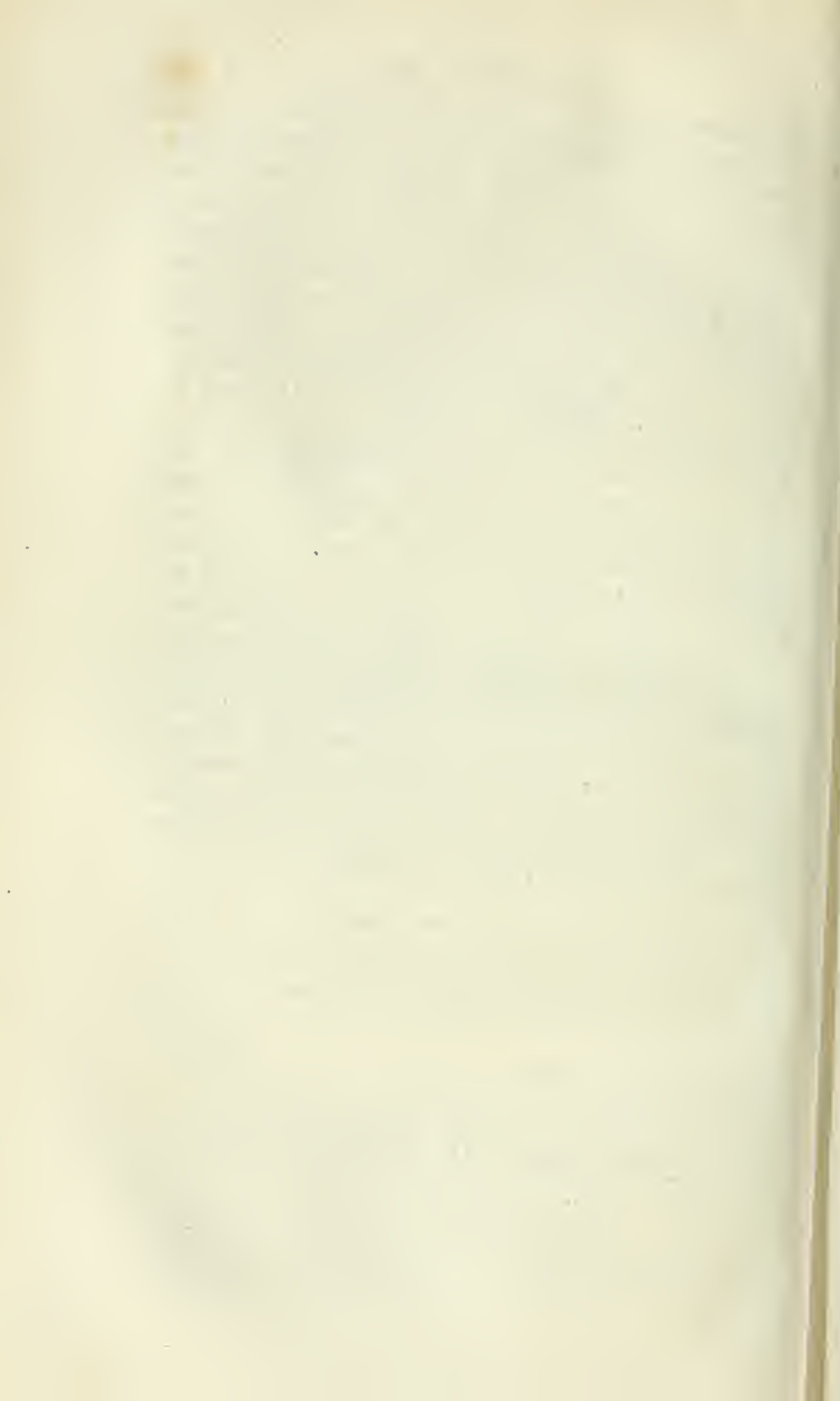
“ The sum of all our answer is but this :

“ We would not seek a battle as we are ;

“ Yet, as we are, we say we will not shun it :

“ And so go tell your masters, *Frenchman*.”

END OF POLITICAL CENSOR. NO. VI.



THE
POLITICAL
C E N S O R.

No. VII.

R E M A R K S
ON THE
DEBATES IN CONGRESS,

DURING THE SESSIONS, BEGUN ON THE FIFTH OF
DECEMBER, 1796.

5th DECEMBER.

THIS day the Congress met, and a quorum being formed, it was agreed, on the 6th, to inform the President that the two Houses were ready to receive such communications as he might have to make to them.

7th DECEMBER.

The President went to the Representatives' chamber in the usual manner, where the two Houses being assembled, he delivered the following address.

*Fellow Citizens of the Senate, and of the House
of Representatives,*

IN recurring to the internal situation of our country since I had last the pleasure to address you, I find ample reason for a renewed expression of that gratitude to the Ruler of the Universe, which a continued series of prosperity has so often and so justly called forth.

The acts of the last session, which required special arrangements, have been, as far as circumstances would admit, carried into operation.

Measures calculated to ensure a continuance of the friendship of the Indians, and to preserve peace along the extent

our interior frontier, have been digested and adopted. In the framing of these, care has been taken to guard on the one hand, our advanced settlements from the predatory incursions of those unruly individuals, who cannot be restrained by their tribes; and on the other hand, to protect the rights secured to the Indians by treaty; to draw them nearer to the civilized state; and inspire them with correct conceptions of the power, as well as justice of the government.

The meeting of the deputies from the Creek nation at Coleraine, in the State of Georgia, which had for a principal object the purchase of a parcel of their land by that State, broke up without its being accomplished; the nation having, previous to their departure, instructed them against making any sale; the occasion however has been improved, to confirm by a new treaty with the Creeks, their pre-existing engagements with the United States; and to obtain their consent to the establishment of trading houses, and military posts, within their boundary; by means of which their friendship and the general peace may be more effectually secured.

The period during the late session, at which the appropriation was passed, for carrying into effect the Treaty of Amity, Commerce and Navigation, between the United States and his Britannic Majesty, necessarily procrastinated the reception of the posts stipulated to be delivered, beyond the date assigned for that event.

As soon however as the Governor General of Canada could be addressed with propriety on the subject, arrangements were cordially and promptly concluded for their evacuation, and the United States took possession of the principal of them, comprehending Oswego, Niagara, Detroit, Michilimackinac and Fort Miami, where such repairs and additions have been ordered to be made as appeared indispensable.

The commissioners appointed on the part of the United States and of Great Britain, to determine which is the river St. Croix, mentioned in the treaty of peace of 1783, agreed in the choice of Egbert Benson, Esq. of New York, for the third commissioner. The whole met at St. Andrew's, in Passamaquoddy Bay, in the beginning of October, and directed surveys to be made of the rivers in dispute; but deemed it impracticable to have these surveys completed before the next year, they adjourned, to meet at Boston in August 1797, for the final decision of the question.

Other commissioners appointed on the part of the United States, agreeably to the seventh article of the treaty with Great Britain, relative to captures and condemnation of vessels

sels and other property, met the commissioners of his Britannic Majesty in London, in August last, when John Trumbull, Esq. was chosen by lot, for the fifth commissioner. In October following, the board were to proceed to business. As yet, there has been no communication of commissioners on the part of Great Britain to unite with those who have been appointed on the part of the United States, for carrying into effect the sixth article of the treaty.

The treaty with Spain required that the commissioners for running the boundary line between the territory of the United States, and his Catholic Majesty's provinces of East and West Florida, should meet at the Natchez before the expiration of six months after the exchange of the ratifications, which was effected at Aranjuez on the twenty-fifth day of April; and the troops of his Catholic Majesty, occupying any posts within the limits of the United States, were within the same period to be withdrawn.—The commissioner of the United States, therefore, commenced his journey for the Natchez in September, and troops were ordered to occupy the posts from which the Spanish garrisons should be withdrawn. Information has been recently received of the appointment of a commissioner on the part of his Catholic Majesty for running the boundary line: but none of any appointment for the adjustment of the claims of our citizens, whose vessels were captured by the armed vessels of Spain.

In pursuance of the act of Congress passed in the last session, for the protection and relief of American seamen, agents were appointed, one to reside in Great Britain, and the other in the West Indies. The effects of the agency in the West Indies are not yet fully ascertained; but those which have been communicated, afford grounds to believe the measure will be beneficial. The agent destined to reside in Great Britain declining to accept the appointment, the business has consequently devolved on the minister of the United States, in London, and will command his attention, until a new agent shall be appointed.

After many delays and disappointments arising out of the European war, the final arrangements for fulfilling the engagements made to the Dey and Regency of Algiers, will, in all present appearance, be crowned with success; but under great, though inevitable disadvantages in the pecuniary transactions, occasioned by that war: which will render a further provision necessary. The actual liberation of all our citizens who were prisoners in Algiers, while it gratifies every feeling heart, is itself an earnest of a satisfactory termination

mination of the whole negotiation. Measures are in operation for effecting treaties with the Regencies of Tunis and Tripoli.

To an active external commerce, the protection of a naval force is indispensable. This is manifest with regard to wars in which a state is itself a party. But besides this, it is in our own experience, that the most sincere neutrality is not a sufficient guard against the depredations of nations at war. To secure respect to a neutral flag, requires a naval force, organized and ready to vindicate it from insult or aggression. This may even prevent the necessity of going to war, by discouraging belligerent powers from committing such violations of the rights of the neutral party, as may, first or last, leave no other option. From the best information I have been able to obtain, it would seem as if our trade to the Mediterranean, without a protecting force, will always be insecure; and our citizens exposed to the calamities from which numbers of them have but just been relieved.

These considerations invite the United States to look to the means, and to set about the gradual creation of a navy. The increasing progress of their navigation promises them, at no distant period, the requisite supply of seamen; and their means in other respects, favour the undertaking. It is an encouragement likewise, that their particular situation will give weight and influence to a moderate naval force in their hands. Will it not then be advisable to begin without delay to provide and lay up the materials for the building and equipping of ships of war; and to proceed in the work by degrees, in proportion as our resources shall render it practicable without inconvenience; so that a future war of Europe may not find our commerce in the same unprotected state in which it was found by the present?

Congress have repeatedly, and not without success, directed their attention to the encouragement of manufactures. The object is of too much consequence not to ensure a continuance of their efforts in every way which shall appear eligible. As a general rule, manufactures on public account are inexpedient. But where the state of things in a country leaves little hope that certain branches of manufacture will for a great length of time obtain; when these are of a nature essential to the furnishing and equipping of the public force in time of war; are not establishments for procuring them on public account, *to the extent of the ordinary demand for the public service*, recommended by strong considerations of national policy, as an exception to the general rule?

rule? Ought our country to remain in such cases dependent on foreign supply, precarious, because liable to be interrupted?

If the necessary articles should in this mode cost more in time of peace, will not the security and independence thence arising, form an ample compensation? Establishments of this sort, commensurate only with the calls of the public service in time of peace, will in time of war, easily be extended in proportion to the exigencies of the government; and may even perhaps be made to yield a surplus for the supply of our citizens at large, so as to mitigate the privations from the interruptions of their trade. If adopted, the plan ought to exclude all those branches which are already or likely soon to be established in the country; in order that there may be no danger of interference with pursuits of individual industry.

It will not be doubted, that with reference either to individual or national welfare, agriculture is of primary importance. In proportion as nations advance in population, and other circumstances of maturity, this truth becomes more apparent; and renders the cultivation of the soil more and more an object of public patronage. Institutions, for promoting it, grow up supported by the public purse: and to what object can it be dedicated with greater propriety? Among the means which have been employed to this end, none have been attended with greater success, than the establishment of Boards, composed of proper characters, charged with collecting and diffusing information, and enabled, by premiums and small pecuniary aids, to encourage and assist a spirit of discovery and improvement.—This species of establishment contributes doubly to the increase of improvement; by stimulating to enterprize and experiment; and by drawing to a common centre the results every where of individual skill and observation, and spreading them thence over the whole nation. Experience accordingly has shewn, that they are very cheap instruments of immense national benefits.

I have heretofore proposed to the consideration of Congress, the expediency of establishing a National University; and also a Military Academy. The desirableness of both these institutions, has so constantly increased with every new view I have taken of the subject, that I cannot omit the opportunity of once for all, recalling your attention to them.

The assembly to which I address myself, is too enlightened not to be fully sensible how much a flourishing state of
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the arts and sciences contributes to national prosperity and reputation. True it is, that our country, much to its honour, contains many seminaries of learning highly respectable and useful; but the funds upon which they rest, are too narrow to command the ablest professors in the different departments of liberal knowledge, for the institution contemplated: though they would be excellent auxiliaries.

Amongst the motives to such an institution, the assimilation of the principles, opinions and manners of our countrymen, by the common education of a portion of our youth from every quarter, well deserves attention. The more homogeneous our citizens can be made in these particulars, the greater will be our prospect of permanent union; and a primary object of such a national institution should be, the education of our youth in the science of *government*. In a republic, what species of knowledge can be equally important? And what duty more pressing on its legislature, than to patronise a plan for communicating it to those who are to be the future guardians of the liberties of the country?

The institution of a military academy, is also recommended by cogent reasons. However pacific the general policy of a nation may be, it ought never to be without an adequate stock of military knowledge for emergencies. The first would impair the energy of its character, and both would hazard its safety, or expose it to greater evils when war could not be avoided. Besides, that war might often not depend upon its own choice. In proportion as the observance of pacific maxims might exempt a nation from the necessity of practising the rules of the military art, ought to be its care in preserving and transmitting by proper establishments, the knowledge of that art. Whatever argument may be drawn from particular examples, superficially viewed, a thorough examination of the subject will evince, that the art of war is at once comprehensive and complicated; that it demands much previous study: and that the profession of it, in its most improved and perfect state, is always of great moment to the security of a nation. This, therefore, ought to be a serious care of every government; and for this purpose, an academy, where a regular course of instruction is given, is an obvious expedient, which different nations have successfully employed.

The compensations to the officers of the United States, in various instances, and in none more than in respect to the most important stations, appear to call for legislative revision.

The

The consequences of a defective provision are of serious import to the government. If private wealth is to supply the defect of public retribution, it will greatly contract the sphere within which the selection of character for office is to be made; and will proportionally diminish the probability of a choice of men, able as well as upright. Besides that it would be repugnant to the vital principles of our government, virtually to exclude from public trusts, talents and virtue, unless accompanied by wealth.

While in our external relations, some serious inconveniences and embarrassments have been overcome, and others lessened, it is with much pain, and deep regret I mention, that circumstances of a very unwelcome nature have lately occurred. Our trade has suffered, and is suffering extensive injuries in the West Indies, from the cruisers and agents of the French republic; and communications have been received from its minister here, which indicate the danger of a further disturbance of our commerce by its authority, and which are, in other respects, far from agreeable.

It has been my constant, sincere and earnest wish, in conformity with that of our nation, to maintain cordial harmony, and a perfectly friendly understanding with that republic. This wish remains unabated; and I shall persevere in the endeavour to fulfil it, to the utmost extent of what shall be consistent with a just, and indispensable regard to the rights and honour of our country: nor will I easily cease to cherish the expectation, that a spirit of justice, candour, and friendship, on the part of the republic, will eventually ensure success.

In pursuing this course, however, I cannot forget what is due to the character of our government and nation; or to a full and entire confidence in the good sense, patriotism, self-respect, and fortitude of my countrymen.

I reserve for a special message, a more particular communication on this interesting subject.

Gentlemen of the House of Representatives,

I have directed an estimate of the appropriations necessary for the service of the ensuing year, to be submitted from the proper department; with a view of the public receipts and expenditures to the latest period to which an account can be prepared.

It is with satisfaction I am able to inform you, that the revenues of the United States continue in a state of progressive improvement.

A rein-

A reinforcement of the existing provisions for discharging our public debt, was mentioned in my address at the opening of the last session. Some preliminary steps were taken towards it, the maturing of which will, no doubt, engage your zealous attention during the present. I will only add, that it will afford me a heartfelt satisfaction to concur in such further measures, as will ascertain to our country the prospect of a speedy extinguishment of the debt. Posterity may have cause to regret, if from any motive, intervals of tranquillity are left unimproved for accelerating this valuable end.

Gentlemen of the Senate and of the House of Representatives,

My solicitude to see the militia of the United States placed on an efficient establishment, has been so often, and so ardently expressed, that I shall but barely recal the subject to your view on the present occasion ; at the same time that I shall submit to your inquiry, whether our harbours are yet sufficiently secured.

The situation in which I now stand, for the last time, in the midst of the representatives of the people of the United States, naturally recalls the period when the administration of the present form of government commenced : and I cannot omit the occasion to congratulate you, and my country, on the success of the experiment ; nor to repeat my supplication to the Supreme Ruler of the universe, and Sovereign Arbitrer of nations, that his providential care may still be extended to the United States ; that the virtue and happiness of the people may be preserved ; and that the government, which they have instituted for the protection of their liberties, may be perpetual.

12th DECEMBER.

The Senate presented to the President the following Answer to his Address of the 7th.

WE thank you, Sir, for your faithful and detailed exposure of the existing situation of our country : and we sincerely join in sentiments of gratitude to an over-ruling Providence, for the distinguished share of public prosperity, and private happiness, which the people of the United States so peculiarly enjoy.

We

We are fully sensible of the advantages that have resulted from the adoption of measures (which you have successfully carried into effect) to preserve peace, cultivate friendship, and promote civilization, among the Indian tribes, on the western frontiers;—feelings of humanity, and the most solid political principles, equally encourage the continuance of this system.

We observe with pleasure, that the delivery of the military posts, lately occupied by the British forces, within the territory of the United States, was made with cordiality, and promptitude, as soon as circumstances would admit; and that the other provisions of our treaties with Great Britain and Spain, that were objects of eventual arrangement, are about being carried into effect, with entire harmony and good faith.

The unfortunate, but unavoidable difficulties that opposed a timely compliance with the terms of the Algerine treaty, are much to be lamented; as they may occasion a temporary suspension of the advantages to be derived from a solid peace with that power, and a perfect security from its predatory warfare; at the same time, the lively impressions that affected the public mind, on the redemption of our captive fellow-citizens, afford the most laudable incentive to our exertions, to remove the remaining obstacles.

We perfectly coincide with you in opinion, that the importance of our commerce demands a naval force for its protection against foreign insult and depredation, and our solicitude to attain that object will be always proportionate to its magnitude.

The necessity of accelerating the establishment of certain useful manufactures, by the intervention of legislative aid and protection, and the encouragement due to agriculture, by the creation of Boards (composed of intelligent individuals) to patronise this primary pursuit of society, are subjects which will readily engage our most serious attention.

A national university may be converted to the most useful purposes—the science of legislation, being so essentially dependant on the endowments of the mind, the public interest must receive effectual aid from the general diffusion of knowledge; and the United States will assume a more dignified station, among the nations of the earth, by the successful cultivation of the higher branches of literature.

A military academy may be likewise rendered equally important. To aid and direct the physical force of the nation,
by

by cherishing a military spirit, enforcing a proper sense of discipline, and inculcating a scientific system of tactics, is consonant to the soundest maxims of public policy: connected with, and supported by such an establishment, a well regulated militia, constituting the national defence of the country, would prove the most effectual, as well as economical, preservative of peace.

We cannot but consider, with serious apprehensions, the inadequate compensations of public officers, especially of those in the more important stations. It is not only a violation of the spirit of a public contract, but is an evil so extensive in its operations, and so destructive in its consequences, that we trust it will receive the most pointed legislative attention.

We sincerely lament, that whilst the conduct of the United States has been uniformly impressed with the character of equity, moderation, and love of peace, in the maintenance of all their foreign relationships, our trade should be so harrassed by the cruisers and agents of the republic of France, throughout the extensive departments of the West-Indies.

Whilst we are confident that no cause of complaint exists, that could authorize an interruption of our tranquillity, or disengage that republic from the bonds of amity, cemented by the faith of treaties, we cannot but express our deepest regrets, that official communications have been made to you, indicating a more serious disturbance of our commerce. Although we cherish the expectation, that a sense of justice, and a consideration of our mutual interests will moderate their councils: we are not unmindful of the situation in which events may place us, nor unprepared to adopt that system of conduct, which, compatible with the dignity of a respectable nation, necessity may compel us to pursue.

We cordially acquiesce in the reflection, that the United States, under the operation of the federal government, have experienced a most rapid aggrandizement and prosperity, as well political, as commercial.

Whilst contemplating the causes that produce this auspicious result, we much acknowledge the excellence of the constitutional system, and the wisdom of the legislative provisions;—but we should be deficient in gratitude and justice, did we not attribute a great portion of these advantages, to the

the virtue, firmness and talents of your administration ; which have been conspicuously displayed in the most trying times, and on the most critical occasions. It is, therefore, with the sincerest regret, that we now receive an official notification of your intentions to retire from the public employments of your country.

When we review the various scenes of your public life, so long and so successfully devoted to the most arduous services, civil and military,—as well during the struggles of the American revolution, as the convulsive periods of a recent date, we cannot look forward to your retirement, without our warmest affections and most anxious regards accompanying you ; and without mingling with our fellow citizens at large, the sincerest wishes for your personal happiness, that sensibility and attachment can express.

The most effectual consolation that can offer for the loss we are about to sustain, arises from the animating reflection, that the influence of your example will extend to your successors, and the United States thus continue to enjoy, an able, upright and energetic administration.

16th DECEMBER.

The following answer of the House of Representatives was presented to the President.

S I R,

The House of Representatives have attended to your communication respecting the state of our country, with all the sensibility that the contemplation of the subject, and a sense of duty can inspire.

We are gratified by the information, that measures calculated to ensure a continuance of the friendship of the Indians, and to maintain the tranquillity of the *western* frontier, have been adopted ; and we indulge the hope that these, by impressing the Indian tribes with more correct conceptions of the justice, as well as power of the United States, will be attended with success.

While we notice, with satisfaction, the steps that you have taken in pursuance of the late treaties with several foreign nations, the liberation of our citizens who were prisoners at Algiers, is a subject of peculiar felicitation. We shall cheerfully co-operate in any further measures that shall appear, on consideration, to be requisite.

We have ever concurred with you in the most sincere and uniform disposition to preserve our neutral relations inviolate, and it is, of course, with anxiety and deep regret we hear that any interruption of our harmony with the French Republic has occurred: for we feel with you and with our constituents, the cordial and unabated wish to maintain a perfectly friendly understanding with that nation. Your endeavours to fulfil that wish, and by all honourable means to preserve peace, and to restore that harmony and affection which have heretofore so happily subsisted between the French Republic and the United States, cannot fail, therefore, to interest our attention. And while we participate in the full reliance you have expressed on the patriotism, self respect and fortitude of our countrymen, we cherish the pleasing hope, that a mutual spirit of justice and moderation will ensure the success of your perseverance.

The various subjects of your communication will respectively meet with the attention that is due to their importance.

When we advert to the internal situation of the United States, we deem it equally natural and becoming to compare the present period with that immediately antecedent to the operation of the government, and to contrast it with the calamities in which the state of war still involves several of the European nations, as the reflections deduced from both tend to justify as well as to excite, a warmer admiration of our free constitution, and to exalt our minds to a more fervent and grateful sense of piety towards Almighty God for the beneficence of his providence, by which its administration has been hitherto so remarkably distinguished.

And while we entertain a grateful conviction that your wise, firm and patriotic administration has been signally conducive to the success of the present form of government, we cannot forbear to express the deep sensations of regret with which we contemplate your intended retirement from office.

As no other suitable occasion may occur, we cannot suffer the present to pass without attempting to disclose some of the emotions which it cannot fail to awaken.

The gratitude and admiration of your countrymen are still drawn to the recollection of those resplendent virtues and talents which were so eminently instrumental to the achievement of the revolution, and of which that glorious event

event will ever be the memorial. Your obedience to the voice of duty and your country, when you quitted reluctantly, a second time, the retreat you had chosen, and first accepted the presidency, afforded a new proof of the devotedness of your zeal in its service, and an earnest of the patriotism and success which have characterized your administration. As the grateful confidence of the citizens in the virtues of their chief magistrate, has essentially contributed to that success, we persuade ourselves that the millions whom we represent, participate with us in the anxious solitudes of the present occasion.

Yet we cannot be unmindful that your moderation and magnanimity, twice displayed by retiring from your exalted stations, afford examples no less rare and instructive to mankind, than valuable to a republic.

Although we are sensible that this event, of itself, completes the lustre of a character already conspicuously unrivalled by the coincidence of virtue, talents, success and public estimation; yet we conceive we owe it to you, Sir, and still more emphatically to ourselves and to our nation, (of the language of whose hearts we presume to think ourselves at this moment the faithful interpreters) to express the sentiments with which it is contemplated.

The spectacle of a free and enlightened nation offering by its representatives the tribute of unfeigned approbation to its first citizen, however novel and interesting it may be, derives all its lustre (a lustre which accident or enthusiasm could not bestow, and which adulation would tarnish) from the transcendent merit of which it is the voluntary testimony.

May you long enjoy that liberty which is so dear to you, and to which your name will ever be so dear: May your own virtues and a nation's prayers obtain the happiest sunshine for the decline of your days and the choicest of future blessings. For our country's sake, for the sake of republican liberty, it is our earnest wish that your example may be the guide of your successors, and thus, after being the ornament and safeguard of the present age, become the patrimony of our descendants.

This answer, on which there was a pretty long and warm debate, is somewhat different from that

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which

which was first proposed by the committee appointed to draw it up. Some members were opposed to almost every part of it, but their opposition was more directly levelled against three particular points; the compliment to the President, the paragraph respecting the misunderstanding with the French Republic, and the expression of the free and enlightened state of the American people.

The answer expresses a grateful conviction of the President's *wise, firm, and patriotic* administration, and regrets his departure from office. To all this the virtuous and upright Mr. Giles objected. He said, that "the President's administration had been "neither *wise* nor *firm*; and as to his departure "from office, he felt not the least regret on account of it. He hoped he would retire to his "country seat, and live comfortably there. He "believed the government of the United States "would go on without him. *The people* were "competent to their *own* government. That for "those, who had opposed some of the principal "measures of the President, to vote for the answer in its present form, would be *writing scoundrel on their foreheads.*"

It would be useless to take up mine and my reader's time in a justification of the compliment to which Mr. Giles was opposed. The people of the United States, from one end of the Union to the other, have unequivocally expressed, what this gentleman is afraid to express, lest thereby he should write scoundrel on his forehead. If the reader will look back to the Censor for April last, he will find this same patriot declaring, that he *adored* the voice of the people, and yet he has now the temerity to doubt its infallibility, to refuse obedience to it, even to mutiny against and offer resistance to its *awful* commands. If ever I derived an extraordinary

ordinary degree of satisfaction from the embarrassment of others, it was on seeing Mr. Giles and his brother patriots, the votaries of the popular voice, reduced to take the *unpopular* side of a question. The leader seems to have been sensible of the awkwardness of his situation, when he said that "*the people* are competent to their *own* government." This was a kind of palliative, it was shifting the ground of opposition, it was a poor miserable attempt to preserve consistency, and betrayed either a total want of discernment in the speaker, or a consummate contempt for the understandings of the people: for, if the people are competent to their own government, they are certainly competent to form a judgment of the conduct of the President, and as they have declared his administration to be wise, firm and patriotic, how dared their zealous and pious adorer to say they are mistaken.

As to *writing scoundrel on his front*, of which Mr. Giles seemed to entertain such unnecessary fears, if the approving of the compliment in question would produce this effect, all the members of the state legislatures, and nine-tenths of their constituents, had already taken the hideous inscription. What a scoundrelly god, then, does Mr. Giles adore? If an obstinate opposition to all the most important measures of an administration, which the answer approves of in the aggregate, was calculated to imprint the terrific word, voting for the answer could do no more than render legible what was already written; as characters in certain liquids remain imperceptible till drawn forth by the fire. Mr. Giles and his fellow labourers prudently shrank from the ordeal; but they will excuse us, if our imaginations would supply its place. Read we assuredly shall, and it will be nothing very extraordinary if we should extend the sig-

nification of every term that we think we perceive.

The next subject of opposition was the paragraph which speaks of the misunderstanding with the bloody Gallican Republic. In the reported answer it stood thus: "We have ever concurred
" with you in the most sincere and uniform dis-
" position to preserve our mutual relations invio-
" late, and it is, of course, with anxiety and deep
" regret we hear that any interruption of our har-
" mony with the French Republic has occurred;
" for we feel with you, and with our constituents,
" the cordial and unabated wish, to maintain a per-
" fectly friendly understanding with that nation.
" Your endeavours to fulfil that wish cannot fail
" therefore to interest our attention. And while
" we participate in the full reliance you have
" expressed on the patriotism, self-respect and
" fortitude of our countrymen, we cherish the
" pleasing hope, that a spirit of justice and mo-
" deration will ensure the success of your perse-
" verance."

This was certainly tame enough, after all the outrages and insults of France. The desire to re-establish harmony is expressed, as *Mr. Ames* observed, with little less ardour than the requests of a supplicating lover; and the confidence in the spirit of the country, in case of an appeal to arms, is disguised with as much care, as if it were a crime to be courageous in opposing the violence and representing the indignities of a horde of base-born grovelling tyrants.

How different from this hesitating tone was that of the Senate: "We are," say they, "not un-
" mindful of the situation in which events may
" place us, *nor unprepared to adopt that system of*
" *conduct, which, compatible with the dignity of a*
" *respectable nation, necessity may compel us to pur-*
" *sue.*"

"*sue.*" This manly answer does infinite honour to the man who penned it, and let the insolent Convention recollect, that it was approved of by him with whom they will in future be obliged to treat.

The answer of the Senate was all that could be wished, but it should have been surpassed in warmth by those who call themselves the *immediate* representatives of the people. Language that may be extremely proper, at such a crisis, from cool and dispassionate Senators, whose business is rather to check than to encourage the ardour of the public spirit, may be poor and cold when coming from the Representatives. Every sentence from them should have smoked with indignation at the insupportable insolence of the French, they should have declared, that they were ready with their lives to defend that independence, which had been so openly attacked, and to support the government in every energetic measure it should take to obtain satisfaction for the indignities that had been heaped on it. Yet, so far from this was the conduct of the House, that even the paragraph above quoted was not humble enough for them: not content with expressing their *anxiety* and *deep regret* at the interruption of *harmony*, and their *unabated* wish to maintain a *perfectly friendly* understanding, with the nation who had robbed, despised, and openly insulted them and their country, they must needs add another sentence, wishing for the restoration of that *harmony* and *affection*, which had hitherto so *happily* subsisted. Not content with amplifying their tremulous accents till the quaver had lost the sound of manhood, they must needs begin *da capo* and repeat the faltering tune. Nay, the last sentence of the paragraph, which speaks of a spirit of *justice* and *moderation*, could not pass without being crammed with the word *mutual*. Mr. Giles indeed,

wished to tack another phrase; viz, "*on the part of the Republic*," to the end of this word *mutual*. He seemed to think that the answer would be incomplete without a little *nonsense*.—"That a *mutual* spirit of justice and moderation *on the part of the Republic* will ensure the success of your perseverance."—If you can go to the Sunday Schools round the city, and find me a boy out of his primer, stupid and illiterate enough to compose a sentence like this, I will be bound to find you men in Virginia, who shall vote him into Congress.—"*The Republic*," too. *What Republic?* Is not America a Republic as well as France? The French King forbade his subjects to address him, or speak of him, under any other name than simply that of *the King*, as if there were but one king in the world; just as we speak of the Sun or the Moon. The despots who have cut his throat, seem to have taken possession of his vanity as well as of his houses, his gardens, his coaches and his jewels. They call their poor beggared enslaved country *the Republic*. But other kingdoms never observed this style of eminence towards the French monarch, nor will it be observed towards the French Republic, I trust, by any other Republic, or any other mortal except Mr. Giles. It would seem that the gentleman forgot where he was, and looked upon himself as a representative of the swarthy French, instead of the more humane and more enlightened, though sooty, citizens of the ancient dominion.

The imagination of this man, and of all those who voted with him, appears to have been upon the rack to find out terms expressive of their dependance on the generosity and magnanimity of the insulting foe, and of their want of confidence in the people of this country. Was this what the President expected, when he complained to them of the aggressions of the French, and of the threats
he

he had received from their minister? Was this what the people expected, when that insolent minister appealed to them from their government? No; they expected no such milksop tautology. They expected a good, plain, and resolute tone, calculated to convince the treacherous French, that their independence was not a mere name, and that, while a desire of peace dwelt in their breasts, fear of a war found no place there.

It was said by those who opposed the introduction of that redundancy of *affection*, which now dishonours the answer, that the first draught was dictated by a spirit of accommodation; and, indeed, this was evidently the case, for no one who knows Messrs. Ames and Sitgreaves, and reads their animated speeches in the debate, will believe that this draught was dictated by their feelings. My complaisance, however, would not have carried me so far; I would have stood alone in the House; I would have opposed every sentence, every word, and every syllable, that savoured of tameness, that indicated a reliance on the *justice* and *moderation* of the French, or a fear of encountering their displeasure.

The third subject of opposition was, that sentence in the answer which styles the people of America "the freest and most enlightened in the world;" and who could help being surprized that the *adorer* of the *people* should take the lead here also! One would imagine, that to be proper objects of adoration, they should at least be the most free and enlightened in the world; unless we suppose that Mr. Giles adored them for their purity and virtue, which there is very little reason to do.

These words were at last changed for, "a free and enlightened people." The cause of this (with shame be it spoken), was, *fear of offending the French Convention*, an assembly that every worthy American

American longs to spit upon ; an assembly whose approbation is a mark of dishonour ten thousand times greater than standing in the pillory or being burnt in the hand. Talk of writing scoundrel in the forehead ! I would sooner bear the word scoundrel as a motto round the pupils of my eyes, than be blasted with the approving grin of a gang of assassins.

That the cause of the opposition was what I have stated it, must be clear to every one who recollects the language of the members who took a part in it, on other occasions. There is hardly a people in Europe, except the French, whom they have not, at different times, since the present war, represented as buried in slavery and brutal ignorance. They insisted that the House had no right to cast reflections on foreign nations ; what right had Mr. Giles, then, to cast reflections on the government and parliament of Britain ? What right had another member to call the Empress of Russia a she bear, another the King of Great Britain a robber, and another, all kings in general a herd of crowned monsters ? “ The fact may be true,” said they, “ but we have no right to step beyond the “ boundaries of our own country to contrast it “ with any other.” Now, what did the pretty Mr. Livingston, who was one of these inoffensive and modest gentlemen, do last session ?—“ Great Britain,” said he, “ was *once* free ; but now Great “ Britain, and *all Europe*, France *excepted*, is in “ chains !”—Was this stepping beyond the boundary line ? This was not being content with eulogium on America, but was openly insulting every nation of Europe, *except the French*, the *free and enlightened* heroes of the *Bloody Buoy*. But, why need we go back to past sessions, when in the present one, and even in this debate, and on this very question, we hear the delicate Mr. Parker exclaim —“ Kingcraft

—“ Kingcraft and priestcraft have too long governed the world with an iron rod : more enlightened times, I trust, are approaching, and I hope ere long *republicanism* will cover the earth.”
—Like the universal deluge, I suppose.

It is pretty clear from this sally of Mr. Parker, that no nations were to be excepted but those who are, or call themselves, republics. This might have done very well, and the answer might have been thus amended with some little consistency, but poor Mr. Parker has a short memory, and being pressed hard by Mr. William Smith, who truly asserted, that fear of giving umbrage to the French, was at the bottom of the opposition, he tacked short about, and ran headlong into the most monstrous contradiction that ever bemired a poor orator.—“ No ;” said he, “ I have not the French republic, or any other nation in view : the Swiss Cantons have shewn themselves more enlightened than we.”—All was well yet, but Mr. Parker, like most other eloquent men, is very fond of enumeration, and he unfortunately added the *Danes* and the *Swedes*. These nations also, said he, were more enlightened than the people of America, though, in the same speech, he declared that *Kingcraft* had too long governed the world with an iron rod, and hoped that more enlightened times were at hand, and that republicanism would soon cover the earth ! He could not be so very ignorant, or at least I should suppose so, as not to know that Denmark and Sweden are governed by Kings ; but he was hemmed up in a corner, and did not know where to look for more enlightened republics than his own, *except France*.—A legislator should always understand geography and astronomy, and then “ his eye, in a fine fit of frenzy rolling,” might, as Doctor Rush says Rittenhouse did, find out republics in the moon. However, a very little
tudy

study of the former science, might have led Mr. Parker, in his jump from Switzerland to Denmark, to perceive the dear sister republic of *Batavia*. Here he might have found a triumphant comparison. Republicanism has enlightened the Dutch with a vengeance. The sans-culottes have worn them down till you may read a newspaper through their ribs. *Geneva* too, which was so near him when he was got among the Swiss, might, one would have thought, have claimed a preference to Denmark and Sweden; particularly as the cheering rays of republicanism have been communicated to it by the great luminary which seems to be the sole object of his admiration.

Mr. Parker moved for striking out the words, "freest and most enlightened." This Mr. Christie proposed to amend, by inserting, "free-est, "and *amongst* the most enlightened;" but still Mr. Swanwick thought the word "*amongst*" should come before, instead of after "*free-est*; because "nothing could tend more to *preserve the peace* "of the country, than *treating others with respect*;" and in this opinion he was joined by Messrs. Coit and Dayton, the latter of whom most humbly thought, that "the amendment very much "*softened* the terms, and rendered them *more palatable*."—At last, after these four words had undergone just as many changes as can be rung upon four bells, the peal was closed with, "*free* "and *enlightened* people."

Gracious heaven! and have I lived to hear the American Congress, men whose brow I had been taught to believe *independence* had made its chosen seat, haggling three whole days about four words of compliment to their country, and at last expunge them, lest they should give offence to a foreign nation! Mr. Livingston, and the news-monger Brown, may dun us as long as they please about

about the slavery of Britons, but if a member of their House of Commons were timid enough to express his *fears* at calling his nation the freest and most enlightened in the world, I flatter myself he would never dare show his face again in that assembly. For a nation, which dares not pass on itself whatever compliment or encomium it pleases, to call itself *free* and *independent*, is an abuse of words that nothing can be a sufficient punishment for, except the consciousness of being, and of being thought, exactly the contrary of what it strives to appear.

That the amendment should be adopted at all, is a circumstance in itself sufficiently humiliating; but, when we consider it was adopted for fear of giving umbrage to France; when we consider that the representatives of the people thought it unfitting to declare them more *free* and *enlightened* than the base, the willing slaves, the brutishly ignorant and illiterate wretches left in the French territory, we feel our superiority insulted, and despise the man who would shrink from the declaration.

In that *free* country, France, the parent dares not yield protection to his child, nor the child to his parent, without the previous consent of some petty understrapping despot. Man possesses nothing; his property belongs to a mob of tyrants, who call themselves the nation, who hold his labour and his very carcass in a state of requisition. If his griefs break out into complaint, he is dragged to a tribunal, where *no evidence is required*. A shrug, a look, a tear, or a sigh, betrays him. To repine at the cruelty of his fate, is to be suspected, and to be suspected is death.

We need not stretch our view across the Atlantic for specimens of French liberty; we may see enough without quitting our own country, or even our houses. The *cockade proclamation* of Citizen
Adet

Adet is at once an insult to the United States, and an act of abominable tyranny on the unfortunate French who have taken a refuge in them. They must not only suffer shame for their country, but must bear about them the sign of its disgrace, the liberty of the infamous Orleans. They must not only be despoiled of their wealth, and driven from their homes and their families, but must drag their chains into distant lands. It is not enough that they should be branded with the name of slave; they must wear the symbol of their slavery, and that, too, exactly where other men wear the symbol of courage and of honour!—Will not the people of America blush to think, that their representatives were afraid to assert, that they enjoyed a degree of freedom superior to this?

Of the *enlightened* people, now called the French nation, not one out of five hundred can spell his own name. As to religion, four years ago they were seen kneeling with their faces prone to the earth, blubbering out their sins, and beseeching absolution from the men whom, in a year afterwards, they degraded, insulted, mutilated and murdered. After the changing catholic worship, at the command of one gang of tyrants, for a worship that was neither catholic nor protestant; at the command of another, they abandoned all worship whatsoever, and publicly rejoiced that “the soul of man “ was like that of the beast.” A third gang orders them to believe that there is a god: instantly the submissive brutes acknowledge his existence, and fall on their knees at the sight of Robespierre, proclaiming the decree, with as much devotion as they formerly did at the elevation of the sacred host.

Politically considered, they are equally *enlightened*. Every successive faction has been the object of their huzzas, in the day of its power, and of their
their

their execrations in that of its fall. They crowded to the bar of the Convention to felicitate Robespierre on his escape from the poignard of a woman; and, in less than six weeks afterwards, danced round his scaffold, and mocked his dying groans.—First they approve of a constitution with an hereditary monarch, whose person they declare *inviolable* and *sacred*, and swear to defend him with their lives. Next they murder this monarch, and declare themselves a republic, to be governed by a single chamber of delegates. This second constitution they destroy, and frame a third, with two chambers and five co-equal kings.—After having spent five years in making war, in the name of liberty and equality, upon arms, stars, garters, crosses, and every other exterior sign of superiority of rank, they very peaceably and tamely suffer their masters to dub themselves with what titles they please, and exclusively to assume garbs and badges of distinction far more numerous than those which formerly existed in France.

But, the circumstance best calculated to give a just idea of their baseness of spirit and swinish ignorance, is, their sanctioning a constitution, which declares that they shall elect the members of their assemblies, and then submitting to a decree, obliging them to choose two-thirds of the number out of the Convention. Nor was this all; the Convention, not content with ensuring the re-election of these two-thirds, reserved to itself the power of rejecting such members of the other third as it might not approve of! And yet the wise Mr. Parker calls the French “a *free* and *enlightened* people,” and very piously wishes that *Kingcraft* may be done away, and that *republicanism* may *enlighten* the whole earth!—The House of Representatives were afraid even to hint that this nation of poor cajoled, cozened, bullied, bamboozled devils,
were

were less enlightened than the people of America !

There is not a true American, and I love to believe that a very great majority of the people of these states are of that description, who does not reject with scorn the idea of being upon a level with the regenerated French ; not only in understanding, but in any respect whatever. Their very friends, the Democrats, nay their best paid hirelings, despise them in their hearts, as much as a prostitute despises her cully.

After having contemplated the modest and humble tone of the antifederal members towards France, it may not be amiss to contrast it with their language towards Great Britain, on an occasion somewhat similar.—It was reported, that his Britannic Majesty had issued instructions for seizing American vessels, contrary to the law of nations. It was indeed, well known that many vessels were seized ; but it was not known that the seizure was authorized by these instructions. They were equivocal, and therefore left room to hope that they were misconstrued, by interested individuals, and that an indemnification would be obtained by a manly and temperate representation of the injury. This hope, which was then entertained by the friends of the Federal Government, has since been completely realized. But, what was the tone of Mr. Madison, Mr. Clarke, Mr. Dayton, and all those who are now for softening their language towards France, till it surpasses in effeminacy the pipe of a sickly girl ? What were the measures they then proposed ? *Lay a double duty on their goods*, said one ; *Prohibit all trade with them*, said another ; and Mr. Dayton offered a resolution for “ sequestrating all debts due from the citizens of “ the United States to the subjects of the king of “ Great Britain.”—Thus, without waiting a moment

ment to inquire whether the king's instructions were misinterpreted, or whether an indemnification was likely to be obtained, the seizure was to be regarded as a commencement of hostilities, reprisals were immediately to be made, and that, too, in a mode that every honourable and honest man turns from with scorn.—Was this very "*palatable*," Mr. Dayton?

It was during this memorable debate, that Mr. Smith from Maryland, *modestly* exclaimed:—"Let us adopt the resolution. It will arrest *twenty millions* of dollars in our hands, as a fund to reimburse the *three or four millions*, which we have been stripped of by that *piratical nation*, Great Britain, according to the instructions of that *king of sea-robbers*, that *Leviathan* who aims at swallowing up all that swims on the ocean, that *monster*, whose only law is power, and who respects neither the rights of nations, nor the property of individuals."—Was this *decent and honest* speech very "*palatable*?"—These political cooks seem to be very skilful in distinguishing the difference between the palates of Britons and that of the *soupe-maigre*, frog-eating French, who can relish nothing that is not *bien cuit*, or coddled to mummy, except the flesh and blood of aristocrats.

Striking as this contrast is, it is not seen in its proper light, till accompanied with a comparative view of the injuries received from the two nations. The British, when they were called *pirates*, *sea-robbers*, and *monsters*, by a member of Congress, had unlawfully seized on American property, to the amount of "*three or four millions of dollars*." The French, even at that time, were guilty of the same aggressions, and of this the Congress could not plead ignorance, as it was stated to them by order of the President, in the same report that

complains of the conduct of the British. At the present epoch it is acknowledged that the depredations of the French are double in amount to those of the British, before any indemnification was obtained. But, to avoid all dispute on this subject, let us suppose that the loss from both nations to be of exactly the same amount, and confine our remarks to the vast difference in their anterior situation and subsequent conduct with respect to this country. Great Britain had no treaty, either of amity or commerce, with America; her conduct towards us, therefore, was subject to no rule but that prescribed by the general law of nations, the principles of which, often leaving room for misinterpretation, give a scope to an abuse of power, that does not, if reparation be demanded and obtained, fix the stigma of cowardice or dependance on the injured nation. The situation of the French was quite different. The depredations committed by them are in direct violation of a solemn contract, voluntarily entered into with America. Great Britain excused herself by declaring (whether truly or not is no matter) that her orders had been misconstrued, that she was ready to make restitution, and it is well known that she has made good this declaration, by paying the full value of the cargoes and vessels illegally seized. But, the conduct of the French leaves no room for an excuse. They cannot plead a misconstruction of their orders, their spoliations have not taken place under an ambiguous instruction, but are warranted by a decree of their tyrannical assembly; and, to deprive America of the hope of indemnification, and even of the appearance of maintaining her rights, they have hurled this decree in our teeth. The British unlawfully seized on the property of Americans, or, if you will, in the polite language of Maryland Mr. Smith, that nation of
“monsters”

“monsters” robbed them; but the minister of these “monsters” did not proclaim the plundering order in this country, and insult the people whom they had robbed, by telling them that it was the fault of their own Executive. The French have done all this and ten times more: they have trampled upon the independence of Americans, braved them, scoffed at them: they have done every thing but kick the President from his chair and take possession of the government: and yet Mr. Dayton, the *energetic* Mr. Dayton, says not a word about *sequestration*; he is even afraid to compliment his constituents on their *freedom* and *understanding*, lest it should be *unpalatable* to this insidious, treacherous and insolent nation. Not a word do we now hear about “*pirates* and *sea-robbers*, and *leviathans*, “and *monsters* :” all breathes a desire to cultivate “*harmony*, *perfect friendship*, and *affection*.” In speaking of the depredations of the British, “no-thing,” it was said, “was to be expected from “the *justice* of a nation who had robbed us;” but now, behold, every thing is to be left to the “*justice* and *moderation*” of the French, after we are not only well assured that their robberies have far surpassed those of the British, but after their minister has contemptuously told us, that those robberies are sanctioned by his government; that it has given orders for violating the treaty, and is determined to continue in the violation. Thus, one nation is spoken of with approbation, esteem and affection; is even flattered and caressed, after loading us with injuries a thousand times greater than those which drew down on another nation the indecent and opprobrious terms of “*pirates* and “*monsters*.” Is this a proof of the candour or of the obstinate prejudice, of the wisdom or folly, of the House of Representatives? Is it a proof of the

independence of America on Great Britain, or of its abject dependance on France ?

To what are we to ascribe the immeasurable difference between the daring and insulting tone formerly assumed towards Britain, and the poor, piping, pusillanimous language, that is now held towards France. Is it because one is a monarchy, and the other calls itself a republic ? I have heard, or read, of a fellow that was so accustomed to be kicked, that he could distinguish by the feel, the sort of leather that assailed his posteriors. Are our buttocks arrived at this perfection of sensibility ? And do we really find that a republican shoe wounds our honour less than a monarchical one ? Is an injury from a nation on whom we heaped every term of abuse, and for whose annihilation we, and even some of our parsons, devoutly prayed, less calculated to rouse our feelings, than the accumulated injuries and insults of another nation, whom we distinguished by every sign of partiality, for whose misfortunes we put on mourning, and for whose victories we mocked and insulted heaven with thanksgiving ? Is a single slap on the cheek from a power, with whom we had no connection, less offensive than reiterated blows from an *ally* ? Finally, is the commerce of Britain less necessary to America than that of France, or is the power of the latter more to be dreaded than that of the former ? — This last question is the only one that requires to be examined : the rest, I trust, are already answered in the mind of the reader.

The necessity of a commercial connection between Great Britain and America, is so loudly and unequivocally asserted by the unerring voice of experience, that nothing but the blindest ignorance, or the most unconquerable prejudice, could possibly have called it in question. Immediately after
the

the suspension of this commerce, caused by the revolutionary war, it was on both sides resumed with more ardour than ever, notwithstanding all the arts that France and her partisans employed to prevent it. In vain did poor Louis issue edicts to encourage his people to supplant their rivals, in vain did he take off his duties and offer premiums; in vain did friend Brissot coax the Quakers, and citizen Madison speechify the Congress: in spite of all their fine promises, cajoling, and wheedling; in spite of the mortification of Britain, and the more powerful prejudice of America, no sooner was the obstacle removed by the return of peace; than without a treaty of friendship or commerce, without any other stimulus than mutual interest, confidence and inclination, the two countries rushed together like congenial waters that had been separated by an artificial dyke.

It is this natural connection with Britain, the British capital, which a confidence in the stability of the government invites hither, together with the credit that the merchants of that country give to those of this, a credit which British merchants alone are either willing or able to give, that forms the great source of American wealth. Mr. Smith from Maryland, the *polite* Mr. Smith, who called the British "*sea-robbers and monsters*," incautiously acknowledged, in the same breath, that these "*monsters*" gave a stationary credit to this country amounting to *twenty millions of dollars*. Grateful gentleman!—A very great part of this credit is given for a twelvemonth at least; so that the simple interest on it amounts to *one million two hundred thousand dollars annually*; an advantage to this country that might have merited in return something "*more palatable*" than "*sea-robbers and monsters*."

If America could obtain what she stands in need of (which she cannot) from any other country than Britain, from what country on earth could she obtain them on terms like these? The capacity of France, in the brightest days of her commercial prosperity, was fairly tried. Correspondences were opened with her merchants; but what was the result? The total ruin of them and of all those who were concerned with them. They are no more; they are forgotten. Their trade could be equalled in shortness of duration by nothing but the wear of their merchandise.

To say, as some of the French faction have done, that America does not want the manufactures of Britain, is an insult on the national discernment little short of the *Blunderbuss* of my old friend Citizen Adet. Let any man take a view of his dress (when he is dressed like a man), from head to foot, from the garments that he wears to sea, to plough, to market, or to church, down to those with which he steps into bed; let him look round his shop, and round the shops of his neighbours; let him examine his library, his bed-chamber, his parlour and his kitchen, and then let him say how great a part of all he sees, of all that is indispensable, useful or convenient: let him say how great a part of all this comes from Great Britain, and how small a one from France or any other country; and then if he be fool enough, let him say with the Gallican faction, that we stand in no need of the manufactures of Britain.

The commercial connection between this country and Great Britain is full as necessary as that between the baker and miller, while the connection between America and France may be compared to one between the baker and the milliner or toyman. France may furnish us with looking-glasses; but without the aid of Britain we shall be ashamed to
see

see ourselves in them, unless the sans-culottes can persuade us that thread-bare beggary is a beauty. France may deck the heads of our wives and daughters (but by the bye, she shan't those of mine) with ribbons, gauze, and powder, their ears with bobs, their cheeks with paint, and their heels with gaudy party-coloured silk, as rotten as the hearts of the manufacturers; but Great Britain must cover their and our bodies. When the rain pours down and washes the rose from the cheek; when the bleak north-wester blows through the gauze, then it is that we know our friends. Great Britain must wrap us up warm, and keep us all decent, snug and comfortable, from the child in swaddling cloths to its tottering grandsire. France may send us cockades, as she does (or has done) in abundance; but Great Britain must send us hats to stick them in. France may furnish the ruffle, but Great Britain must send us the shirt; and the commerce of the latter nation is just as much more necessary to this country than that of the former, as a good decent shirt is more necessary than a paltry dishclout of a ruffle.

As, then, the importance of a trade, with any nation, must be the standard whereby to measure the embarrassment and distress that its suspension would produce, it is evident that a war with Great Britain would, in this respect, have been productive of infinite calamities to America, while a war with France would hardly be felt. The dangers, therefore to be apprehended from military operations only, remain to be considered.

By going back to the epoch when the hostile tone was assumed towards Great Britain, I could represent her as in possession of the *Western Posts*, and consequently as in a situation to arm and support the Indians, to harrass that frontier, and by those means find employment for an army of the United States,

and that a very expensive one too. But, I shall decline this advantage, shall consider things in their present state ; I shall even suppose all inroads from Canada impossible, shall turn my eyes to the sea only, and there take a view of what might be reasonably feared from a war with Great Britain, and what from a war with France.

The mighty difference in the maritime power, skill, and courage of the two nations, is so universally known, and has undergone so many and such convincing proofs during the present war, that any comparison in this respect would be superfluous. The hirelings of France, do, however, pretend that she could eat us up alive, crack us as a squirrel does a nut, while we could boldly bid defiance to her rival. I shall not suppose it possible for Great Britain to bombard our towns and burn our shipping, I shall look upon all our harbours as completely detended ; I shall even suppose it impossible for her to make a landing on any part of our coast, to carry off a single sack of flour or head of cattle ; and only insist, that, with thirty detached frigates, and a squadron of twenty ships of the line, she could completely block up every principal port in the United States, in defiance of the French and their new allies Holland and Spain. If I am told to look back to what she was able to do, in this way, last war, I reply, that the commerce, the foreign relationships of this country, are not now what they were then, nor would the species of war, carried on by Britain, be the same. Then she had armies on the land, on which the operations of her fleet were dependant. It had garrisons to supply, convoys to escort, and transports to conduct from one state to another. Those who look to France and her allies for relief, forget that during this war France has lost *thirty-nine* ships of the line, with a proportionate

tionate number of frigates; that the remnant of her shattered fleet is now blocked up in her own ports, and that her petty armaments skulk about from harbour to harbour, as if their only object was to keep out of sight. They forget that the Dutch dare not peep out of the Texel, and that the Spaniards, after mustering their all together, are stationed before a place of refuge in the Mediterranean. In this situation of things nothing could prevent Great Britain from totally cutting off the commerce of America, exports as well as imports, trebling the price of every article of foreign manufacture, and rendering the produce of the land a drug; destroying the revenue of the country at the very moment that a tenfold augmentation of it would be necessary.

From the French and their allies, on the contrary, America has little, nay nothing to fear. When we are told about their demolishing our towns and invading our country, it seems to be forgotten that they must cross the sea to come to us. Fear seems to have deranged the trembling wretches who hold this language. They talk and think about the prowess of the barbarian armies, till they imagine us divided from them by a river only, or that it is as easy for a hundred thousand of them to be shipped off and landed in America, as for them to cross the Rhine; they imagine that a fleet of three hundred transports and fifty ships of the line are as easily erected as a bridge of boats. And, during this terrific reverie, it never once strikes them that Great Britain is at war with the French, or that her fleets would blow them to atoms, before they could approach our coast. Mr. Giles, and all those who talk about the danger of incurring the displeasure of the French, delight in representing her as ready to make an attack on us in conjunction with the Spaniards. This is true, and we are informed that they

they have already told these their "natural allies," to seize and confiscate our vessels*. There is no doubt but both nations would willingly co operate in such an enterprise; but I would ask Mr. Giles seriously, whether he thinks America would stand singly in the war; whether he thinks the government or the people so incorrigibly blind and stupid, as, while they see the French calling in all hell to their aid, to refuse the only assistance capable of repulsing the infernal host.—Oh, Lord! says Mr. Giles, what are you talking about! "I dislike extremely any *intimate connection* betwixt this country and Britain, notwithstanding pecuniary advantages may arise from it†."—So says Citizen Adet, and so says every Frenchman as well as Mr. Giles. Yes: this is what they "dislike," this is the thing, and the only thing, they are afraid of, and it is for that very reason that it ought to take place.

But, I should be glad to know on what Mr. Giles founds his "dislike" to this connection, in case of a war. He acknowledges its "pecuniary advantages," and that is one great point gained; for you well know, Mr. Giles, that in *connections with foreign nations* nothing goes on cheerly *without money*. What, then, can be the objection? Because

* It is pretended by France, that our treaty with Britain contravenes that with her; and for that reason she seizes our vessels. Groundless and insolent as this pretext is, it is worth noticing now that the Spaniards have begun to imitate her. We had *no treaty* with them, when that with Great Britain was formed, and therefore, I presume, that the "*magnanimous* Spanish monarch," as Mr. Swanwick called him, will allege that our treaty with him was contravened *before it was made*: nor should I much wonder, if members in Congress were to be found, courageous and patriotic enough to attempt to support the charge.—This is all that is wanted to fill up the measure of our humiliation.

† See his speech in this debate.

America is a *Republic* and Britain a *Monarchy*? This was the old objection to the treaty of amity and commerce with Great Britain; but it very luckily happened that, just before that treaty was concluded, the Republic of France had made a similar treaty with the King of Prussia: and now, as if on purpose to give us a second example, she has concluded a treaty offensive and defensive with the King of Spain, and has called that nation her "*natural ally*."—Now, Mr. Giles, rub that *forehead* of yours a little, and tell me sincerely, without any quibbling or subterfuge, whether you think the Spaniards are more *naturally* allied to the French than the Americans are to the British.

Surely no nation was ever so completely duped as America has been by the French and their partizans! By a sincere and hearty alliance with Great Britain, she would not only place herself in a situation to make a peremptory demand of indemnification from France, but, in case of a refusal, would be able to strip both France and Spain of every inch of territory they possess in this hemisphere. There is no danger of any other nation taking umbrage at this. America and Great Britain might bid defiance to the world. The map of this continent and its islands lies open before them: they might cut and carve for themselves, and sit down in the quiet enjoyment of their conquests. The very mention of such an alliance would scare the Dons at the bottom of their mines, and would make the *seven hundred and five tyrants* tremble on their thrones. Yet the hirelings of France tell us that this alliance must not be formed, because, forsooth, Britain is a monarchy! Poor, paltry objection! France avails herself of all the rascally aid she can rake together; she forms treaties with all the monarchies she can find base enough to join her, and calls them her *natural allies*; but, if America makes a treaty with a monarchy,

monarchy, be it merely for the purposes of adjusting disputes and regulating trade, France, "terrible France," takes offence at it, calls it an unnatural connection, seizes our vessels as a punishment for it, and (with shame be it spoken!) is justified by some of those who are chosen to preserve the honour and independence of the country!—All the world are the *natural allies* of France; republics, aristocracies, monarchies, and despotisms; Dutch, Genoese, Spaniards, Turks, and devils; but poor America has no *natural ally* at all, except France herself; and if she chooses, with the aid of her allies, to rob and insult her, America must accept of no one's assistance, but must stand and be pillaged and kicked till the by-standers cry shame.—Honourable Independence! "Glorious Revolution."—If this must be the case, let us hear no more boastings and rejoicings. Let the *fourth of July* be changed from a festival to a fast, or rather, let it be effaced for ever from the calendar.

A

L E T T E R

TO THE INFAMOUS

T O M P A I N E,

IN ANSWER TO HIS LETTER TO

GENERAL WASHINGTON.

“ CEREMONY, and even *silence*, from whatever motive they may arise, have a hurtful tendency, when they give the least degree of countenance to *base and wicked performances*.” With this maxim, Tom, you begin your remarks on one of your then Sovereign’s speeches to his parliament, and during which remarks you pay a very high compliment to the *talents and virtues* of *General Washington*; the very man whom you now attempt to strip of every talent and every virtue, public as well as private. Complain not, therefore, if your maxim be adopted on the present occasion, and if this answer be conducted with very little *ceremony*.

Your letter professes to treat of “affairs public and private.” From this adjunct to the title, we might have expected from the Great Tom Paine, the prince of demagogues, something like a review of the President’s administration, and a developement of diplomatic and cabinet secrets. It was not being over sanguine to expect this much from a member of the “illuminated and illuminating Assembly of France,” and a maker of constitutions besides. But, alas! how have we been disappointed

disappointed ! That part of your letter, which treats of what you call "*public affairs*," is no more than a repetition of one or two passages of Citizen Adet's insolent notes, which had been sentenced to general execration, a month before your letter appeared. Your "*private affairs*," were long ago *public*. Every one knew, and every honest heart rejoiced, that you had found a Bastile in the purlieus of your "palace of *freedom*;" that your filthy carcass was wasting in chains, instead of wallowing in the plunder you had promoted.

In the minds of the people of this country, therefore, none of the assertions contained in your letter, require to be refuted. The public voice has pronounced them as false and foul as the heart from which they proceeded. But, it is not enough that such are our sentiments ; it is necessary, to preserve us from the shame of passing for your dupes, that these sentiments should be known : and, as the world has a right to be informed of the reasons on which they are founded, it is in compliance with that claim, and not in complaisance to the inhabitant of a dungeon, that I proceed to observe on what you have had the impudence to assert : viz.

1. That our treaty with Britain, justifies the seizure of our vessels by the French.
2. That the President was guilty of a neglect of duty, in not demanding your enlargement from the cells of one of the thousand Bastiles of your free and happy republic.
3. That our Federal constitution is an "inconsistent instrument," which, if you live to return to America, you will have altered.
4. That all which General Washington did in the American revolution, might have been done by any other man as well as by him, and that he has neither talents nor virtues, either as a statesman, or a general.

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The first of these assertions; to wit, *That our treaty with Britain justifies the seizure of our vessels by the French*, you attempt to support by a most barefaced misconstruction of the second article of our treaty with France. This article says, that the contracting parties engage mutually, not to grant any particular *favour* to other nations, in respect to commerce and navigation, *that shall not immediately become common to the other party*. "Therefore," say you, "all the *concessions* made to England by " Jay's treaty, are, through the medium of this " second article, made to France, and can be " exercised by her as a matter of right." This is a truth; but, like all the truths you have ever committed to paper, it is advanced with the malicious intention of leading your readers into a falsehood.

Having said, that all the commercial favours, or *concessions*, granted by America to England, are, by the pre-existing treaty, granted to France also (all which we knew while you were safe in your den), you proceed to number among those *concessions*, the acknowledgement of Great Britain's right to seize contraband articles, and enemies' goods, found on board neutral vessels, which is just *no concession at all*. Great Britain had, prior to the treaty, as she still has, a right to seize all such articles and enemies' goods, so found. No stipulation in a treaty was necessary to the recognition of this right. It is established by the universal law of nations, and is, and ever has been, rigorously maintained, when not surrendered by particular convention. It could be no *concession* on the part of America, to acknowledge that Great Britain possessed a right, which she did possess, and which she exercised too, before the treaty was formed; and if this was no *concession*, how can the second
article

article of the treaty with France be in anywise applicable to the case?

I shall not here prove that the regulations, respecting seizures, adopted in the treaty between Britain and America, are consonant to the principles of the modern law of nations, and are moreover sanctioned by the practice of France. Neither shall I enter into an explanation of the true meaning of the stipulation for *equal favour*, nor attempt to expose the absurdity of applying it to what every independent nation enjoys as a *right*. All this I have done, and I hope to the satisfaction of every unprejudiced mind, in my answer to the insolent and seditious Notes of Citizen Adet, to which I would refer you, Tom, were I not well assured, that you are guided by villainy, and not misguided by ignorance, or error. I shall not avail myself of the advantage to be derived from a repetition of these proofs. I shall admit your assertion in its fullest extent, and convict you on your own words.

You say, that the treaty with Britain, as far as it relates to seizures, “is now become engrafted
“into that with France, and can be exercised by
“her, as matter of right.”—Now, then, let us turn to what the British treaty says on this head.
“Where vessels shall be captured, or detained on
“*just* suspicion of having on board *enemies’ property*, or of carrying *to the enemy*, any of the articles which are *contraband of war*; the said vessel shall be brought to the nearest and most convenient port; and *if any property of an enemy* shall be found on board of such vessel, that part *only* which *belongs to the enemy*, shall be made prize, and the vessel shall be at liberty to proceed with the remainder, without any impediment.”—Compare this with your justification of the present conduct of the French. Are they content

tent with seizing only articles *contraband of war*, or the *property of enemies*? And do they suffer the vessel to proceed with the rest of her cargo? No; they seize *all vessels bound to the ports of the enemy*, whether they have on board contraband articles, or enemies' property, or not! They seize and confiscate both vessel and cargo, and put the captains and seamen in chains.

You will say, that Great Britain stopped all our vessels bound to her enemies' ports, some of which she also condemned; but this was before the treaty with her was made, and therefore cannot be attributed to that instrument, by which, on the contrary, she acknowledges the *illegality* of all such seizures, and engages *to make full compensation for the losses thereby sustained*.—Take, then, the treaty with England, let it be the law to judge your Harlequin masters by, and we shall soon have the pleasure to hear that they have shared the fate they long ago merited, and which their *servant* has often so miraculously escaped.

You were informed of the piratical orders they had issued, and were commanded to prepare a justification. In compliance with this command, you rummaged about the treaty, as Milton rummaged the Bible, to find a justification for the murder of his king. Your baleful eyes at last fixed on the eighth article. Here, you say, the treaty “makes a concession to England, of *other articles*, “in American ships. *These articles are all other* “*articles*, and none but an ignoramus, or something worse, would have put such a phrase into a “treaty.” Do you think that we have never read this treaty? And, if we had not, do you think there is a man among us fool enough to believe that it contains such a concession? If you do, your opinion of the people of your “beloved America,” must be much changed.

This article, out of which you have called *two*, and only *two words*, runs thus : “ And whereas the
 “ difficulty of agreeing on the *precise cases* in which
 “ *alone*, provisions and other articles, not generally
 “ contraband, *may be regarded as such*, renders it
 “ expedient to provide against the misunderstand-
 “ ings which might thence arise : It is agreed, that,
 “ whenever any such articles, *so becoming contra-*
 “ *band*, according to the *existing law of nations*,
 “ shall, *for that reason*, be seized ; the same shall
 “ not be confiscated, but the owners thereof shall
 “ be speedily and completely indemnified.”—So
 that, you see, your *all other articles* are reduced to
 such articles only as are *contraband of war*, accord-
 ing to the modern, *the existing law of nations*.

Playfair calls you, “ the clumsy advocate of in-
 “ surrection,” and you are certainly as clumsy an
 advocate of piracy. Poor Citizen Adet is a lame
 hand enough, but you are still worse ; he did
 flounce about, and made a noise before he sunk ;
 but you just make a bubble, and go to the bottom
 at once, like a stone, or a lump of lead.

I now come to your charge against the President,
 respecting your detention in prison. You insist
 that you were still a citizen of America, and that
 therefore it was his duty to demand your enlarge-
 ment.—You perceived that you had lost all claim
 to citizenship here, in virtue of the article which
 extends that deprivation to all those “ who shall
 “ accept of any title or *office* under any foreign
 “ king, prince, or *state*.” To get rid of this, you
 have recourse to a curious quibble : you pretend,
 that this provision did not embrace your case, be-
 cause France, at the time you joined the legisla-
 tive mob, was neither a kingdom, principality, nor
state, but a *people in a state of revolution*.

That France was not worthy of the name of *state*,
 I am very ready to allow. The French were then,
 what

what they are now, a horde of savages, engaged in the work of destruction. But, be this as it might, France was acknowledged as a *state* by America, and even you, I presume, will not have the impudence to deny, that she was declared to be a republic too, the very first day that you took your seat in the convention; and, if a republic, she was certainly a state. Admitting your own doctrine, then, to have preserved your claim to American citizenship, you should have abdicated your seat, the instant this declaration took place.

You contend that a man may lend a hand to *form a constitution* for a nation who has none, without forfeiting his citizenship in his own country. This may be so: it is nonsense, and therefore not worth disputing about. But why did you not retire as soon as your job was done. You continued your seat, after you had made and sworn to, and made every one else swear to your silly work. You had tasted the sweets of plunder, and you hung to it like a leech, till Robespierre changed you from a legislator to a jailbird.

You wish to persuade us, that the being a delegate, to aid in forming a constitution, was not filling any *office* at all.—Now, suppose that I should allow this, did you exercise no other functions than those of a constitution maker? Was not the convention every thing, legislative, executive, and diplomatic; judicial, military, and *ecclesiastic*? Were not some of you watching the armies, others superintending the guillotine, and others preaching sermons of atheism? Was this filling *no office*? And were you not at all times as liable, and as ready and fit to be thus employed as any of the gang? Nay, did you not preside *as judge* (“ah! righteous rascally judge!”) on the trial of Louis the XVIth? And did not your swinish voice pronounce on him

the sentence of *banishment*? Was this filling *no office*?

But whether you were an officer, or not, or whether you had legally forfeited your American citizenship, what a poor mean-spirited miscreant must you be, to make a complaint that your release was not requested by the President, the man whom you call an *apostate*, or an *imposter*! What! *old Common Sense*, who was at all times “ready to fight” a *hundred tories*;” the *great Rights of Man*, who, “proudly scorned to triumph, or to yield;” is it this hero, in the cause of French liberty, who boldly defied the gallows of Old England, that now trembles at the thoughts of the French guillotine!——“To such a pitch of rage and suspicion was Robespierre and his committee arrived, that it seemed as if they feared to leave a man alive. *No man could count upon his life for twenty hours**. One hundred and sixty-nine prisoners were taken out of the Luxembourg in one night, and one hundred and sixty of them guillotined. In the next list, I have good reason to believe *I was included*.”—Well, and what then? Why should you not be included as well as the thousands you assisted in sentencing to death? What a poor whimpering story is here! After all your boasting of the greatness and dignity of the “democratic floor,” you have not discovered a zeal nearly equal to that of *Lord Stanhope*, one of “that class of equivocal generation, called *aristocracy*†.”

“*Lord Stanhope*. What are all the executions, and what is all the blood, about which we hear such pitiful tales? The cause of France, is the

* This confession is valuable. The democrats will not now deny what I have ever said about French liberty.

† See Woodfall's Parliamentary Reports.

“ cause of freedom, of mankind. Who would
 “ hesitate to be executed in such a cause ? I would
 “ *cheerfully be hanged* in her cause.”

“ *Lord Abingdon.* My lords, his lordship wishes
 “ you to hang him. I beseech your lordships to
 “ give the noble peer rope enough, and he will
 “ hang himself.”

Are you not ashamed, Tom, to be surpassed by
 a lord ? Instead of coming forth from your den, a
 volunteer martyr in this glorious cause, and crying,
Vive la République ! with your neck under the na-
 tional razor, you tremble even now at the thoughts
 of your danger. Instead of dancing to the music of
 your republican chains, you pine and peak, and
 cry for *liberty* : as if it were possible for a man to
 want liberty in France !

I cannot help observing here, how harmoniously
 you chime in with the cant of the enslaved French,
 and the American democrats. “ During the *tyran-*
ny of Robespierre—the orders of Robespierre—the
cruelty of Robespierre.” Just as if the whole mob
 of tyrants, who passed the bloody decrees, were not
 as guilty as he who *proposed* them ? But, the rest,
 or the greatest part of them, are *alive*, and *in power*;
 and Robespierre is *dead*.

You are obliged, however, to confess that the
 convention itself refused to release you at the re-
 quest of some silly Americans : but here again, to
 avoid offending your despotic masters, you throw
 the blame *on the president*, for the time being, and
 he, poor cut-throat, “ has since *absconded*.” If he
 had been present, you would not have dared even
 to do this.

The committees, you acknowledge, did order
 your arrest ; but then, as some of them are alive,
 and even on the throne, you add : “ the commit-
 “ tees, of which *Robespierre was Dictator.*” Thus,
 you qualify your tone, kneel, creep, and cringe to

those who have held you in chains, and brought you to the foot of the scaffold. Nay, you do more. *Carnot*, one of the five fellows now called the Directory, was a member of these committees, he was Robespierre's right-hand man, the jackal that brought provision for the guillotine. This is he who signs the decree for seizing the vessels of your "beloved America," and this measure, your pen, your poor old double-turned antithesises, are now employed to defend. It is thus that you support "the *dignity of man*," that "*dignity* compared to "which, that of lords, dukes and kings, dwindles "into nothingness."

If Robespierre were still living, you would be as much his flatterer and slave, as you are the flatterer and slave of *Carnot*. You were made for a French republican; the baseness which they have constantly discovered, is in your nature. While the tyrant is alive, he is a god; when dead, he is a devil. An ignominious death, the awful avenger of crimes, and, with other men, the oblivion of injuries, with you unlocks the faculties of reproach, and changes your praises into execrations. You are true carrion-crows: you flutter in flocks, from the presence of the kite; but when he is wounded by the hunter, and lies gasping on the earth, you attack his prostrate carcass, and pick out his eyes, that are closing in death.

Now, Tom, for your attack on the *Federal Constitution*. On this head, I shall be very concise.—You must recollect, if your memory is not as treacherous as your heart, that, in your "*Rights of Man*," you every where coupled this constitution with that of France, which your book professed to defend; and that you held the Federal Constitution, in particular, up for the imitation of the English.—Let us therefore contrast what you

you then said of this constitution; with what you say of it now.

Letter to Gen. Washington.

I declare myself opposed to several matters in the constitution, particularly to the manner in which, what is called the Executive, is formed, and to the long duration of the Senate; and if I live to return to America, I will use all my endeavours to have them altered.

It was only to the absolute necessity of establishing some federal authority, extending equally over all the states, that an instrument, *so inconsistent* as the present federal constitution is, obtained a suffrage.

As the federal constitution is a copy, not *quite so base* as the original, of the form of the *British government*, an imitation of its vices was *naturally to be expected*.

Rights of Man, Part 2d.

The whole expense of the federal government of America, founded, as I have already said, on the system of representation, and extending over a country nearly ten times as large as England, is but six hundred thousand dollars, or one hundred and thirty-five thousand pounds sterling.

The government of America, which is wholly on the system of representation, is the *only real republic in character*, and in *practice*, that now exists. Its government has *no other object*, than the public business of the nation, and therefore it is *properly a republic*.

It is on this system, that the American government is founded. It is representation ingrafted upon democracy. It has fixed the form by a scale parallel in all cases, to the extent of the principle. What Athens was in miniature, America will be in magnitude. The one was the wonder of the ancient world, the other is becoming the *admiration and model of the present*.

There is a pretty little posey for you, Thomas !
What a vile wretch must you be ! That which
was becoming the "*admiration and model of the*
"*world*," is now "*a copy, not quite so base* as the
"*original*,"

“ original, of *the British government* ;” and you were exhausting all the hell of sophistry to persuade the English to change their constitution for another, from which the vices of their own were “ *naturally to be expected* .”——Never, surely never, was a poor demagogue so completely detected. Your letter will do good in this country ; but in England, it will be a national blessing. Your *sincerity* will now be seen to the bottom. Those whom you had the address to deceive, will now blush at their folly : they will see the pit you had prepared for them, and will bless the hand that saved them from destruction. For my own part, what I owe to this performance, in common with every American, and every Englishman, I have particular acknowledgements to make. It has flattered my vanity as a political writer ; a species of vanity, which you know, Tom, is none of the weakest,—witness your Second Part of the *Rights of Man*. I long ago declared, that all who were the enemies “ of the British Government, “ would be found to be the enemies of the general Government of America.” And no longer since, than the September Censor, which contains your infamous life, I said : “ I sincerely believe, “ that he (meaning you, Tom,) *hated*, and that he “ *still hates* the *general government of the United States*, as much as the *Government of Great Britain*. But it was necessary that he should find “ out something to hold up to the imitation of the “ English ; no matter what, so that it differed “ from what they possessed.”

Among the good effects that your letter will have, one is, and that not of the least importance, it will tend to complete the reconciliation between America and Britain. Your intention and that of your employers was quite different ; but you have overstepped your mark. When the people of this
country

country first read your "Rights of Man," they were naturally flattered with your compliments to their wisdom. To have formed a government, "the admiration and model of the world," and to be held up to the imitation of their rivals in freedom, merited a return of applause; and they were astonished and offended to find, that the English refused to be instructed. Hence the appellations of "British tyrant," and "willing slaves;" and all the acrimonious and disdainful language that was for a long time held towards that nation. But now, when they perceive that their flatterer is become an assailant, and that their "admiration and model of the world," is no more than a mere "copy, not quite so base as the original, of the British government," they will begin to think that the people of England were not so foolish; that they still are free men, and worthy of their friendship and affection.

An attack on *the conduct and character of General Washington* naturally follows the Federal Constitution.

PAINE.

Letter to Gen. Washington.

When we speak of military character, something more is understood than constancy; and something more *ought* to be understood than the Fabian system of *doing nothing*. The *nothing* part can be done by any body. Old Mrs. Thompson, the house-keeper of headquarters (who threatened to make the sun and the wind shine through Rivington of New York), could have done it as well as Mr. Washington. Deborah would have been as good as Barak. The success-

PAINE.

Common Sense.

Voltaire has remarked, that King William never appeared to full advantage but in difficulties and in action; the same remark may be made on General Washington, for the character fits him. There is a natural firmness in some minds which cannot be unlocked by trifles, but which, when unlocked, discovers a cabinet of fortitude; and I reckon it among those kind of *public blessings*, which we do not immediately see, that GOD hath blessed him with uninter-

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Letter to Gen. Washington.

ful skirmishes at the close of one campaign, matters that would scarcely be noticed in a better state of things, make the brilliant exploits of General Washington's seven campaigns.—No wonder we see so much pusillanimity in the *President* when we see so little enterprise in the *General*.

Elevated to the chair of the Presidency, you assumed the merit of every thing to yourself, and the *natural ingratitude* of your constitution began to appear. You commenced your presidential career by encouraging and swallowing the grossest adulation, and you travelled America from one end to the other, to put yourself in the way of receiving it. You have as many addresses in your chest as James the II^d. Monopolies of every kind marked your administration almost in *the moment of its commencement*. The lands obtained by the revolution were lavished upon partisans; the interest of the disbanded soldier was sold to the speculator; injustice was acted under the pretence of faith; and the chief of the army became the *patron of the fraud*.

Common Sense.

ed health, and given him a mind that can even *flourish upon care*.

Rights of Man, Part 2d.

I presume, that no man in his sober senses will compare the character of any of the kings of Europe with that of General Washington.

As soon as nine states had concurred (and the rest followed in the order their conventions were elected), the old fabric of the federal government was taken down, and the new one erected, of which General Washington is president. —In this place I cannot help remarking, that the *character and services* of this gentleman are sufficient to *put all those men called kings to shame*. While they are receiving from the sweat and labours of mankind, a prodigality of pay, to which neither their abilities nor their services can entitle them, he is rendering *every service in his power*, and refusing every pecuniary reward. He accepted no pay as commander in chief; he accepts none as president of the United States.

Letter to Gen. Washington.

And as to you, Sir, *treacherous in private friendship*, and a *hypocrite in public life*, the world will be puzzled to decide, whether you are an *apostate* or an *imposter*; whether you have *abandoned good principles*, or whether *you ever had any?*

Dedication to the 1st Part of the Rights of Man.

SIR,

I present you a small treatise in defence of those principles of freedom which your *exemplary virtue* has so *eminently contributed to establish*. That the Rights of Man may become as universal as *your benevolence* can wish, and that you may enjoy the happiness of seeing the new world regenerate the old, is the prayer of,

Sir,

Your most obliged, and
Obedient humble Servt.

THOMAS PAINE.

Now, atrocious, infamous miscreant, “look on this picture, and on this.” I would call on you to blush, but the rust of villainy has eaten your cheek to the bone, and dried up the source of suffusion. Are these the proofs of your disinterestedness and consistency? Is it thus that you are always the same, and that you “*preserve through life* the right-angled character of MAN?”

The object of your masters, in having recourse to you on this occasion, is evident to every one. Your letter was written at the time they were passing the decree for authorizing the violation of their treaty with America. To prevent the people here from resenting the injury, it was necessary to persuade them that it was owing to the mal-administration of their own government, and this could not be done without undermining the character of him who presided over it. It was thought that you yet possessed influence enough to effect this, and therefore the prostituted pen of the revolutionary ruffian was put in a state of requisition.

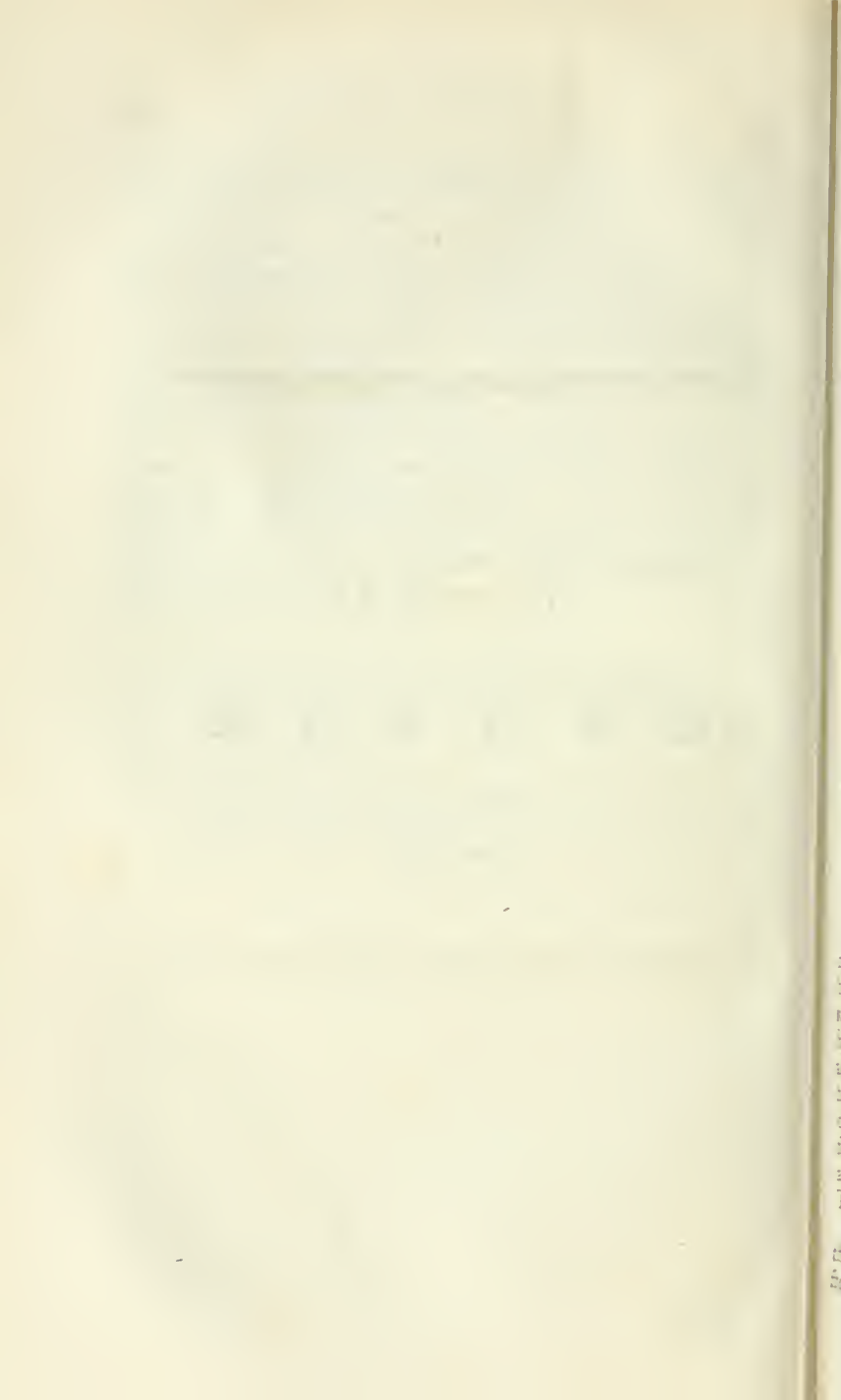
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Your tyrants are completely baffled. The effects of your letter are exactly the contrary to what it was intended to produce. Your brutal attempt to blacken this character was all that was wanted to crown his honour and your infamy. You were before sunk to a level with the damned, but now you are plunged beneath them. The vile democrats, nay even Franklin Bache, with whom you boast of being in close correspondence, can say not a word in its defence. All the *apology* for you is, that you wrote at the instigation of the despots of Paris. Thus the great "Rights of Man," the sworn foe of corruption, and the reformer of nations, winds up his patriotic career : his being *bribed* is pleaded as an *alleviation of his crimes*.

END OF POLITICAL CENSOR. NO. VII.

THE
POLITICAL
C E N S O R.

No. VIII.



THE
POLITICAL CENSOR.

No. VIII.

REMARKS ON THE PROCEEDINGS IN
CONGRESS.

JANUARY 20, 1797.

THE following message from the President of the United States was communicated to the two Houses.

*Gentlemen of the Senate, and of the House of
Representatives,*

At the opening of the present session of Congress. I mentioned that some circumstances of an unwelcome nature had lately occurred in relation to France; that our trade had suffered, and was suffering, extensive injuries in the West Indies from the cruisers and agents of the French Republic; and that communications had been received from its minister here which indicated danger of a further disturbance of our commerce by its authority, and that were, in other respects, far more agreeable: but that I reserved for a special message, a more particular communication on this interesting subject. This communication I now make.

The complaints of the French minister embraced most of the transactions of our government in relation to France, from an early period of the present war; which, therefore,
it

it was necessary carefully to review. A collection has been formed of letters and papers relating to those transactions, which I now lay before you, with a letter to Mr. Pinckney, our minister at Paris, containing an examination of the notes of the French minister, and such information as I thought might be useful to Mr. Pinckney, in any further representations he might find necessary to be made to the French government. The immediate object of his mission was to make to that government such explanations of the principles and conduct of our own, as, by manifesting our good faith, might remove all jealousy and discontent, and maintain that harmony and good understanding with the French Republic, which it has been my constant solicitude to preserve. A government which required only a knowledge of the *truth*, to justify its measures, could not but be anxious to have this fully and frankly displayed.

G. WASHINGTON.

UNITED STATES, }
 January 19, 1797. }

To give the *letter*, accompanying this message, is impossible ; nor would its insertion here, perhaps answer any useful purpose ; as it has already been published both in the public papers and in a pamphlet. It is, however, necessary to observe, that it should be read and well remembered by every one, who is interested in the honour and happiness of this country. *Adet's* charges against the Federal Government, which were combated in the November Censor, have here met with a more ample refutation : reasoning that never can be overturned, because founded on facts that never can be denied. The motives of the insidious friendship of the French, from first to last, are completely unveiled : in place of a debt of gratitude, it is now clear that America owes them nothing but resentment and contempt : resentment for their treachery, and contempt for their threats.

Upon the reasonable supposition, that very few, if any of my readers, ever see the Gallican Gazette
of

of Benjamin Franklin Bache, it may not be amiss to take notice of the censure with which this clumsy tool of an unprincipled faction has honoured the publication of Mr. Pickering's letter.

“ The Executive pretended that they wish to preserve a good understanding with the French Republic, and yet they are pursuing every mode which can have a *tendency to embroil us with that country*. The letter of *man Timothy* to Mr. PINCKNEY is a strong evidence of this intention. This letter endeavours insidiously to criminate the Republic for the conduct of the monarchy, and contains as *much irritation as could be conveyed from the administration*. What is most remarkable is, that the letter is designed as a guide to our minister, and yet is published here *before* it can have possibly reached France, and indeed when it must be believed that the publication and the letter itself will reach that country at the same time. Is the matter or manner of this letter in the style of conciliation?

“ Does it not, on the contrary, breathe a disposition to excite new recriminations on the part of the Directory? Does it not seem designed to close the door of amicable accommodation? Would the publication have been made, unless there existed a disposition in our government to put France at defiance? If accommodation was the object, would the *reflections have been made public against the French nation*? That a letter designed as a kind of instruction to our minister should have been made public *before* it reached him, is one among the absurdities which have characterized the administration.—If a restoration of harmony was in the serious contemplation of the Executive, he would have transmitted the letter and have kept the Directory ignorant of its irritating contents until every prospect of accommodation was at an end, and *then it would have been time enough to make it known in justification of the administration*; but to do it at this time strongly implies a disposition to excite such resentments as shall put reconciliation entirely out of the question. It has ever been the opinion of those who observed the conduct of the Executive, that they were the enemies of the French Republic, their declarations to the contrary notwithstanding, and if any additional evidence was necessary to establish the belief, the letter to Mr. PINCKNEY will not leave a doubt on the mind of any unprejudiced American.”

Does not this sound well from the man, who justified Citizen Adet's contemptuous appeal from the government to the people? Who published that appeal, and who, lest its seditious tendency should be defeated by delay, published an abstract of it, with a commentary still more inflammatory than the appeal itself?

The French have a right to do whatever they please: insult, beat, tread upon: brave the government, accuse it of every crime that malice can invent; but the government of the United States must not think of retaliating, nor even of justifying itself to those, before whom it has been so falsely and insolently accused! The *suspended* Adet tells the people of America, and the whole world, that the Federal Government has issued a declaration of *insidious* neutrality; that it acts by *chicane*; that from the courts of justice *no justice is to be expected*; that the treaty with France has been *violated*; that, in short, the conduct of the government has been marked by every trait of cowardice and perfidy. The President would have been fully justified in a perfect retaliation; that is, in causing the refutation of these calumnious charges to be published *in France*, and that too in a language equally daring with that of Citizen Adet; but he has thought this beneath the respect due to himself and to the nation with whose confidence he has so long been, and yet is, honoured. He has, therefore, been content with justifying his conduct in the eyes of his constituents. Yet this is too much for the full grown grandchild of Doctor Franklin: it is "irritating," and calculated to "close the door of amicable negotiation." It is irritating for a man to deny the falsehoods that have been vomited forth against him, and to prove, to those who have invested him with power, that he has not betrayed his trust.

Novel as this doctrine appears, neither Mr. Bache nor any of his friends can claim the honour of the invention. It is borrowed from the code of the Revolutionary Tribunal of France, that hopper of the famous national mill, vulgarly called the guillotine. In this bloody court, *no evidence* is heard *in favour of the accused*. As much against him as you please, so that there be no loss of time.

This was the form of process intended for the President and his officers of state. Citizen Adet discharges his duty as *accusateur public*, consigns them over to the "national justice," and his advocate Citizen Bache now complains, that they have had the impudence to reply.

I shall leave guillotine lawyer Bache to continue his pleadings and to receive his merited reward, bundles of assignats and millions of honest curses, and shall just take notice of one or two articles of accusation which were not contained in the Diplomatic Blunderbuss, but which have come to light through Mr. Pickering's letter.—"Indeed," says he, "the French Minister has discovered an aptitude to complain. I may cite, as instances, his letters of the 9th of January and 3d of March 1796: the former, because the colours of France, which he had presented to the United States, were not *permanently fixed and displayed before Congress*: the latter, because some printers of almanacks or other periodical publications in the United States, in arranging the names of the foreign ministers and agents resident amongst us, *had placed those of Great Britain before those of France and Spain!* Mr. Adet desired my *declaration in writing* that the government of the United States had no concern in printing the works in which the agents of the French republic were registered after those of Great Britain, and that *the works themselves might be suppressed*. I gave him an

“ answer in writing with my consent to his publishing it in the newspapers, agreeably to his request. The answer states that in matters of this kind the government did not and could not interfere. With regard to the colours, I must observe, that in what concerns our foreign relations, the president being the sole representative of the people of the United States, they were properly presented to him. He received them with all possible respect, and directed them to be deposited with our national archives, that both might be preserved with equal care.”

The flag should, by right, have been permanently displayed before the eyes of Congress, to remind them of their duty towards the “terrible nation:” but then, the Citizen did not perceive that a great difficulty would have occurred from our having two chambers. To have cut asunder the emblem of fraternal love would have been a portentous sign; and, though the members of the Senate, who would have wished to rally under a *sans-culotte* rag, were few in number, yet there is no reason to believe that they would have patiently left their friends of the other House in the sole enjoyment of the honourable ombrage. They would have wrangled like the goddesses for the apple, or, rather, like dogs for a bone. The President, undoubtedly, foresaw this, and therefore he wisely determined to take it from them altogether, and to lock it up safely with the Archives of the United States, where neither moth nor rust, nor any thing else, doth *corrupt*. How different would its situation have been, had it remained continually displayed in the Hall!

If my memory does not deceive me, the American flag was carried to the Convention by Citizen Barney. This man has ever shown an uncommon zeal for the honour of the flag of his country; for,
I remember

I remember, that he wrote a very pathetic letter from Jamaica, addressed to a member of Congress, expressing the grief of his at once noble and tender heart, at seeing the American flag hung up *reversed* under that of Great Britain, while he himself was in irons, and consequently unable "to "avenge his dear country's wrongs." Since those unhappy days Citizen Barney is become a French commodore of two frigates, and will probably rise to the rank of Admiral, if contrary winds should not drive him in the way of the cruisers of the enemy. He was some time sculking about the West India seas, and *to be revenged of the British* for insulting the American flag, what does the brave commodore do, but seize an American merchantman, swing her flag up *reversed* under that of France, and clap the captain in irons. There's *retaliation* for you! There's avenging his "dear country's "wrongs"!—A few such instances of patriotism will, I hope, convince the British, and every other insolent overbearing nation, that, however vengeance may sleep for a time, the American flag will never be insulted with impunity, while there are Barneys in existence.

To return and take farewell of the French colours; it is well enough to observe, that, on the day, or day after, the French Minister made his complaint to the Secretary of State, respecting the fate of the colours, the very same complaint was made in Bache's Gazette. Not that I would insinuate that Mr. Bache is in the pay of the Convention, and that his paper has no other support; the minds of the public have long been made up as to that point. But it is something worth observing, as it strongly tends to prove, that exactly the same thought may strike, at the same moment, two persons who have *not the least* connection with each other.

The complaint against the *Almanack Makers* has more of the ridiculous in it than any thing to be found on the records of upstart apishness. Because the despots of Paris had styled themselves the legislators of the Universe, it entered into the sapient skull of Citizen Adet, that they were so in reality, and that, of course, it was a species of treason to rank their agent beneath those of other powers.

This complaint shows how narrowly they watch us. They dog us like our murderers. They are every where, and in every shape. They insinuate themselves into all companies, among every description of the people. They tent all our actions, words and looks. To rate the number of their spies, spread over the United States, at five thousand, is keeping far within compass.

The demanding of a *positive declaration*, that the government had *no hand in the publications* in question, proves clearly that the Citizen looked upon that government as in a state of absolute dependance on his own; and his requesting that the Almanacks, &c. "might be suppressed," gives us a tolerable idea of that liberty of the press, which we shall enjoy, when we fall under the jurisdiction of the French.—"That the works themselves might be *suppressed*!" It would appear that the sun-beams of liberty, that have lately broken in upon the French, have had no very great effect on Citizen Adet. I have always said, that they know nothing of freedom but the name, and here we have a proof of it. The Citizen thought that our government was like his own: that the laws were a mere mockery, and that we were as completely in bondage as the slaves of Paris, who are led to the guillotine for printing the Lord's Prayer or the Decalogue. Poor minister of the "terrible nation!" How must he have smarted at my answer to his *Blunderbuss*, and how will

will he smart if he should remain here till I print an Almanack ! I will put his name beneath those of the Envoys of the Savages of America ; for I am sure every one will allow, that the nations they represent are far more reputable and humane than his. I will range him after Citizens Cornplanter, Bull-Dog, and Dog's-Head. Should we receive a minister from the Hottentots, who wear unemptied guts round their carcasses, as the more brutish *fonctionnaires publics* in France do their tricoloured scarfs ; should we receive a minister from this polite people, that of regenerated France ahall come after him in my Almanack.

If the Citizen was ignorant enough to suppose, that the government could suppress one publication, he certainly must believe that its power extended to others also ; and then, how comes it to pass, that he had not demanded the *suppression* of some other works that I could mention (if I dared), which seem to be better calculated for giving offence than a poor inoffensive Almanack. But, in these, I suppose, the Citizen found nothing to wound that little something, which, it seems, tickles the hearts of republicans as well as those of royalists. It is diverting enough to see the vanity of a democratic citizen breaking out into complaints about precedence ; about the post of honour in a two-penny Almanack, and an Almanack too of the "*Old Style*." The reptiles that have sprung up out of the ruins of the French nobility, are ten thousand times more bloated with vanity than that nobility, or any other, ever was. They know they are despised, and they wish to obtain by force what the will refuses them. They have fully verified the old maxim : " Set a beggar on horseback, and he'll ride to the devil."

There are some other facts that Mr. Pickering's letter has brought to light, which will command at-

tention another time ; for the present I must leave them, to record an event that reflects as much honour on the people of America as it promises them prosperity : I mean the election of Mr John Adams to the office of President of the United States.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

FEBRUARY 8th.

The Speaker informed the House that the hour was come at which they had appointed to meet the Senate, for the purpose of counting the votes for, and declaring the election of a President and Vice-President of the United States ; and that the Clerk would inform the Senate, they were ready to receive them.

The Clerk accordingly waited upon the Senate, and the President and Members of the Senate, soon after entered and took their seats, the President on the right hand of the Speaker of the House of Representatives, and the Members of the Senate on the same side of the chamber ; when the President of the Senate (Mr. Adams) thus addressed the two Houses :

“ Gentlemen of the Senate, and Gentlemen of the House of Representatives,

“ The purpose for which we are assembled is expressed in the following Resolutions (He here read the resolutions which had been entered into by the two Houses relative to this business). I have received packets containing the certificates of the votes of the Electors for a President and Vice-President of the United States from all the sixteen States of the Union : I have also received duplicates of these returns by post from fifteen of the States. No duplicate from the State of Kentucky is yet come to hand.

“ It has been the practice heretofore on similar occasions, to begin with the returns from the State at one end of the United States, and to proceed to the other ; I shall therefore do the same at this time.”

Mr. Adams then took up the packet from the State of Tennessee, and after having read the superscription, broke the seal, and read the certificate of the election of the Electors. He then gave it to the Clerk of the Senate, requesting

questing him to read the report of the Electors, which he accordingly did. All the papers were then handed to the tellers, viz. Mr. Sedgwick on the part of the Senate, and Messrs. Sitgreaves and Parker on the part of the House of Representatives, and when they had noted the contents, the President of the Senate proceeded with the other States.

All the returns having been gone through, Mr. Sedgwick reported, that, according to order, the tellers appointed by the two Houses had performed the business assigned them, and reported the result.

Then the President of the Senate addressed the two Houses thus :

“ Gentlemen of the Senate, and Gentlemen of the House of Representatives,

“ By the Report which has been made to me by the tellers appointed by the two Houses to examine the votes, there are 71 votes for John Adams, 68 for Thomas Jefferson, 59 for Thomas Pinckney, 30 for Aaron Burr, 15 for Samuel Adams, 11 for Oliver Ellworth, 7 for George Clinton, 5 for John Jay, 3 for James Iredell, 2 for George Washington, 2 for John Henry, 2 for Samuel Johnson, and 1 for C. C. Pinckney. The whole number of votes are 138; 70 votes, therefore, make a majority; so that the person who has 71 votes, which is the highest number, is elected President, and the person who has 68 votes, which is the next highest number, is elected Vice-President.”

The President of the Senate then sat down for a moment, and rising again, thus addressed the two Houses :

“ In obedience to the Constitution and Laws of the United States, and to the commands of both Houses of Congress, expressed in their resolutions passed in the present session, I declare that JOHN ADAMS is elected President of the United States, for four years, to commence on the 4th day of March next; and that THOMAS JEFFERSON is elected Vice-President of the United States, for four years, to commence on the 4th day of March next. And may the Sovereign of the Universe, the Ordainer of Civil Government on Earth, for the preservation of Liberty, Justice and Peace amongst Men, enable them both to discharge the duties of those offices, with conscientious diligence, punctuality and perseverance.”

Thus

Thus ended the triumph of the cause of order over that of anarchy and confusion; and thus Citizen Ader's *Blunderbuss* was proved to be an instrument of sound and not of execution.

The votes were as follows :

	ADAMS.	JEFFERSON.
N. Hampshire	- 6	
Vermont	- - 4	
Massachusetts	- 16	
Rhode-Island	- 4	
Connecticut	- 9	
N. York	- 12	
N. Jersey	- 7	
Pennsylvania	- 1	14
Delaware	- 3	
Maryland	- 7	4
Virginia	- 1	20
N. Carolina	- 1	11
S. Carolina	- -	8
Georgia	- -	4
Kentucky	- -	4
Tennessee	- -	3
	<hr/> 71	<hr/> 68

It is a notorious fact, that in this election, the partisans of France, or rather of the French tyrants, were ranged in opposition to the friends of the Federal Government. I do not insinuate that Mr. Jefferson would now wish to see this government subverted; but, it is well known, it has been often asserted and as often proved, that he has ever been opposed to the principles on which it is established, and on which it must stand, if it stands at all. His partiality for the destructive system of the upstart rulers of France is also well known. His *philosophy* and politics perfectly harmonize with theirs. His partisans, so far from denying his being a *deist*, defend

send it : and his public recommendation of the infamous Tom Paine's Rights of Man, as a means of opposing " the political heresies which have sprung " up amongst us," sufficiently explains his political creed.

That the French regicides looked to him as a proper instrument for facilitating their encroachments on the independence of America, no one can doubt, that has read Faucher's intercepted letter and the menacing notes of Citizen Adet, and that has been a witness of the electioneering intrigues of their hirelings.

Proof has been too often given to need repetition here, that the great object of the French has ever been, and still is, to cut off all communication between this country and Great Britain, as the only effectual means of rendering us totally dependant on themselves. Conscious of their own inability, in a fair competition, to supplant Great Britain as the manufacturer for America ; and conscious also that the inseparable and growing interests of the two countries must produce a perfect reconciliation, and may finally lead to an alliance that would for ever frustrate their projects, they have missed no opportunity of exerting their influence to destroy an intercourse, dangerous to their ambition and to that alone. The endeavours of their partisans have uniformly tended to this point. They have, indeed, varied their means, but the end has always been the same.—First, it was proposed (and the proposition was brought forward at a favourable juncture) to discourage the trade with Britain by imposing heavier duties on goods imported thence than on those imported from France. The pretext, the miserable pretext, for this, was, *to force Great Britain into a commercial treaty with America!* Duplicity unmatched, and almost incredible ! The men who brought forward this proposition, have by the current of subsequent

quent events, been led to declare, that America stands in need of commercial treaties with *no nation on earth, and particularly with Britain!* It was hoped that the Senate would adopt the regulations, proposed and passed in the other House, and it was naturally expected, that an attempt to *force* a treaty down the throat of the British would produce just a contrary effect. The Senate saw through the veil of disguised hostility, and the Executive took the necessary measures to accomplish, *without force*, what the insidious proposals professed to have in view, but what they were in reality intended to prevent.

But we must not quit this subject without hearing Citizen Fauchet, of treacherous memory, who is a most excellent expositor of dark points. "The sessions of 1793 and 1794," says he, "had given importance to the *republican party* (vulgarly called the *French faction*), and solidity to its *accusations*. The propositions of Mr. Madison, or his project of a navigation act, *of which Mr. Jefferson was originally the author*, sapped the British interest, now an integral part of the financiering system."—Thus we see, then, that the famous *resolutions* that were to sap the British interest, or trade, the revenue arising from which was become an integral part of the financiering system, were ascribed to a wrong person; and that patriot Madison, who has been honoured with such loads of democratic applause on this account, was no more than the passive instrument of the then Secretary of State; he was no more, in the opinion of Fauchet at least, than the fore-horse of the French team, that the Virginian philosopher, with his long whip, was driving through the mire of opposition. Full well I remember the time. The little man bridled up and assumed a vast deal of self-importance; but we are now told that the trappings were not his own,
and

and are left to suppose, that his vanity was nothing more than that of a quadruped leader, whose head the partial clown has hung with bells or decorated with garlands.—I do not like this comparison. The horse is a noble, majestic animal; and we all know how offensive such ideas are to republican minds, though figuratively used. They do not go in teams, otherwise I might have been led to one of those sagacious and ever honoured, though comparatively diminutive creatures, on which the Redeemer of the World made his public entry into Jerusalem.

Mr. Jefferson quitted the field before the stormy times of *sequestration* and *total prohibition* came on; but, if we may believe Fauchet (who certainly was in all the secrets of the antifederal party,) we shall find that retirement was not the only thing he sighed for. “Consult Munroe” (says Fauchet, in his letter to the Convention,) “Consult Munroe; he had *apprized me* of the men whom the current of events had dragged along as bodies devoid of weight. His friend Madison is also an *honest man*” (in the French sense of the word of course). “Jefferson, on whom the *patriots* cast their eyes to succeed the President, has foreseen these crises. He *prudently* retired.”—For what?—To enjoy the tranquil pleasures of a country life? To become one of “God’s chosen people,” *if he ever had* a chosen people,” as he himself calls the cultivators of the land?—It was not for this. He did not retire merely to wander through the groves, to listen to the oaten reed of the smutty swains, nor to solace his limbs in the silver brooks of his modern Arcadia; no, nor to inhale the fragrance of its tobacco-fields neither. “He *prudently* retired, to avoid making a figure, *against his inclination*, in scenes, *the secret of which will soon or late be brought to light.*”——Thank ye, Fauchet.

Fauchet. Had it not been for the clue, which you have here given us, some artful people might yet continue to assert, and some silly people to believe, that "Mr Jefferson retired from the *foppery* of the " *monarchical* court of Philadelphia, with no other " motive than that of adding to the stock of philo- " sophy, to the literary honour of America, and the " good of mankind."

Mr. Jefferson did, then, foresee " these crises," these troublesome times; he foresaw the violent conduct of the House of Representatives: he foresaw that the opposition to the excise law would end where it did, in open rebellion; and foreseeing all this, " he *prudently* retired, to avoid making a " *figure against his inclination*," on the side of government (which, as Secretary of State, he must have done), lest thereby he should lose the future support of the " *patriots*," who had " cast their " eyes on him to succeed the President." The partisans of Mr. Jefferson say, that such was the opinion of *Fauchet only*! This is precisely what I want them to allow. The opinion of the French minister assuredly became the opinion of his masters; and, it is their opinion respecting Mr. Jefferson's principles that I am endeavouring to make appear. Whether they were deceived by appearances, or not, is of little consequence now. It is from what *they thought* of Mr. Jefferson, whether right or wrong, that we are to form an estimate of their motives in attempting to impose him, as President, on the people of the United States.

Now that the electioneering manœuvres have failed, the hirelings of France pretend, that Adet's Notes were by no means intended to have the effect which has been looked upon as their principal object; and that it is the height, the very summit of absurdity, to suppose any such thing, to suppose
what

what is now reduced to a certainty as indisputable as any that ever was established.

The Notes in substance declare, that the French are offended at the conduct of the President and his council, that they have resolved on seizing our vessels, and on breaking off all diplomatic communication with us, till the government returns to itself; not forgetting to hint at the same time, and that in terms comprehensible to the meanest capacity, that a change of *men* as well as measures, is the only means of reconciliation.

As to *nominaling* the successors of General Washington and his officers of state, that could have answered no useful end; that part of the business was prudently left to their faithful stipendiaries, who immediately exclaimed, as if from sudden inspiration, that Mr. Jefferson was the only man capable of making our peace with the justly enraged, "terrible" republic." However, lest we should despise the vociferations of this vile herd, Citizen Adet takes care to drag Mr. Jefferson into his first note, and that in such a way as leaves not the least doubt as to his object in so doing.

Still, however, there would be some little latitude for dispute, were the *time* and *manner* of communicating these notes left out of the question.

All the pretended grounds of complaint, among which I include the ratification of the British treaty, existed in the month of July, 1795. How came it to pass, then, that the Convention of France, whom I hope no body will accuse of an over degree of lenity and forbearance; how came it to pass, that these vengeful despots, who scent the blood of disobedient nations from afar, and are ever ready to rush upon their prey; how came it that they should reserve their threats till the 2d of July 1796? Again, supposing for a moment, that their wrath had lain dormant all this while, how did it happen
that

that the determination to menace us with chastisement, which was taken on the 2d of July, was kept a profound secret till the 27th of October, four entire months all but five days, in a season of the year when even two months is a long passage from France to the United States? Mr. Pickering expressed his surprise, as well he might, that the violent resolutions of the Convention should be notified at so late an hour, and without any new subject of complaint. Had a redress of the injuries complained of been the object of the notes, and of the measures they communicate, why were they delayed for a year and four months, and then poured out upon us all of a sudden, on the 27th of October, 1796, seven days previous to the election?

The manner, too, of the communication clearly proves its intent. If reparation of wrongs had been the real end proposed, why was the communication not left with the government, which alone could make that reparation? Why did Citizen Adet treat with the people? And why did he do this before it was possible for him to know what answer he should receive from the government? His appeal from the government to the people was an outrage of decency, a violation of the law of nations, and a direct attack on the sovereignty of the United States; it was an act that the Convention itself had recalled Genet for *talking of* only; and why should they now authorize its *commission*, unless to answer some end of extraordinary importance? It was easy to foresee that the President would not publish these notes, till accompanied with a refutation of the charges they contain, and then they would not only have appeared disarmed, but also too late for effecting their purpose.

To the conclusion, necessarily resulting from these observations, it has been objected, 1st, that the Convention could not be informed of General Washington's

Washington's intention to resign, at the time when they gave their minister his instructions, and therefore could not possibly do it with a view of frightening the people into a choice of Mr. Jefferson: and 2dly, that Adet could have no such intention, or he would have published his notes at an earlier day, to give them time to reach every quarter of the Union, before the election came on.

With respect to the first of these objections, I allow that it is possible, that the spies of the Convention had not been able to apprize them of the President's design; I allow that that arch fiend, formerly Bishop of Autun, who had wound his protean form into all the circles of Philadelphia; I will allow that even the devil, their constant crony, had not apprized them of it; but what is that to the purpose? Citizen Fauchet, though apprized of a good deal, was not apprized of it; yet he was apprized, that "the *patriots* had fixed their eyes on "Mr. Jefferson to succeed the President;" and of this he informed the Convention. It was not therefore, necessary that they should be apprized of General Washington's intention to resign. Mr. Jefferson was to be opposed to whomsoever should appear as a candidate for the office, whether Washington, or Adams, or any body else; and as the French knew when the election must take place as well as we did, time was all they had to attend to. So that this mighty objection is at once so completely done away, that even fools may walk over it blindfolded.

As to the second objection, that Adet could not publish his menaces with an intention of influencing the people in their choice, because the publication did not take place time enough to reach every quarter of the Union, previous to the day of election, every man, however careless an observer he may be of the politics of the different states, must see that the

publication took place soon enough and not a moment too late.

There were two notes, the first was intended to influence the people in their choice of electors, and the last to influence the electors in their choice of the President. One was published seven days only before the people met, and the other about as many days before the assembling of the electors. That this was not time enough for them to reach every state, is evident, and it is as evident, that, to accomplish their object, it was not necessary they should. The sentiments of the people *to the north of the Delaware*, and of those *to the south of the Potomack*, were as well known before the election as they are at this day. Pennsylvania and Maryland alone were justly looked upon as balancing between the two candidates ; and seven days was a space of time just sufficient to give circulation to the threats, without leaving time for the people and their electors to recover from the panic that it was hoped they would produce, before the election was over. The Jacobins, as Burke observes, are very accurate calculators. They never miss the nick of time. They know to a moment when to look big, and when to fawn : when to give you the fraternal hug, and when to knock you down.

The result has proved, that all that was to be feared or hoped for, by either party, lay in these two States, and therefore the Frenchman's blunderbuss was discharged just in time to have all the influence that it was probable, or possible, it should have. I feel a satisfaction, however, in asserting, that it had none at all. The votes for Mr. Adams in Maryland prove that French principles have lost, in place of gaining ground, in that State ; and, as to poor Pennsylvania, though appearances are against her, though *fourteen* French votes to *one* American one brand her with ignominy, yet I hope,
with

with the indulgence of the reader, to prove, that this unfortunate State, this fairest sister of the family, appears much more culpable than she really is, and that her transgression has proceeded from her amiable weakness rather than from any radical vices.

In this State the electors are not chosen for separate districts. Each district does not begin and close the election of its electors ; but, fifteen persons become candidates for the electorship of the whole State. The same men are put up and voted for in all the districts ; the whole number of votes for each man are at last collected by the governor (whose conduct in the present election I would applaud, were I not afraid the honest reader would kick me for it), who then issues his proclamation declaring who are the persons chosen. From this regulation it follows, that a majority of a single vote, upon the whole number of freemen, may give the State the appearance of unanimity on a point on which it is nearly equally divided. This was not far from being the case in the election we are now speaking of. According to the return, one would be led to imagine, that fourteen out of fifteen Pennsylvanians were for Jefferson ; whereas the fact is, that, out of *twenty thousand* votes, his electors had a majority of no more than about *one hundred and seventy*, a number that, when compared to the whole mass, is hardly worthy of being called a casting voice. So that the people in Pennsylvania may be looked upon as having been equally divided between the two candidates.

It is fair also to observe, that this State labours under disadvantages, in this respect, that no other State does. Hers is precisely that climate that suits the vagabonds of Europe : here they may bask in summer, and lay curled up in winter, without fear of scorching in one season or freezing in the other.

Accordingly hither they come in shoals, just roll themselves ashore, and begin to swear and poll away as if they had been bred to the business from their infancy. She has, too, unhappily acquired a reputation for the mildness, or rather the feebleness, of her laws. "*There's no gallows in Pennsylvania!*" These glad tidings have rung through all the democratic club-rooms, all the dark assemblies of traitors, all the dungeons and cells of England, Scotland and Ireland. Hence it is that we are overwhelmed with the refuse, the sweepings of those kingdoms, the offal of the jail and the gibbet. Hence it is that we see so many faces that never looked comely but in the pillory, limbs that are awkward out of chains, and necks that seem made to be stretched.

Among all this refugee, renegade, and felonious crew, Mr. Adams was not dishonoured with a single vote; and yet, after all, he would have had a great majority, had it not been for the unanimity with which he was opposed by the counties *so lately in a state of open rebellion*, and by the *county* (not the city) of Philadelphia. Next to the honour of having the support of all the men of property, sense and virtue, in this populous state, the President must esteem that of being rejected by the constituents of a Findly, a Gallatin, and a Blair M'Clenachan.*

I now

* Of the two former I have said enough in other places; of the latter I have no need to say any thing; it will be sufficient to transcribe from the public papers, an advertisement that was published a few days after his election.

CAUTION.

WHEREAS very large and heavy debts are justly due and owing from Blair M'Clenachan and Patrick Moore, of the city

I now dismiss the subject, well assured that there is not a man capable of putting two ideas together, who is not well convinced, that the Notes of Citizen Adet, and even the plundering decree that they announce, were intended chiefly, if not solely,

city of Philadelphia, merchants, trading under the firm of Blair M'Clenachan and P. Moore, and from Blair M'Clenachan, in his separate capacity—to which, by the laws of the land, all the joint, as well as the separate property of the said gentlemen, is and ought to be liable. And whereas, it is clearly and satisfactorily ascertained, that Mr. Blair M'Clenachan, one of the said firm, has conveyed away to Mr. John H. Huston, his son in law—to his daughter Miss M'Clenachan—and to his son George M'Clenachan, several large and very valuable real estates, as well as considerable personal property in the city of and county of Philadelphia, in the county of Lancaster, in the county of New-Castle on Delaware, and elsewhere, with a view, as it is apprehended, to defeat the creditors in the recovery of their just debts. *This is therefore to forewarn* all persons, whomsoever, against the purchase, from the said parties, or either of them, of any portion of the said real or personal property, as the most rigorous measures will, without delay be taken, to render the same liable to the just demands of the creditors. By order of the Creditors,

THOMAS FITZSIMONS,
PHILIP NICKLIN,
ISAAC WHARTON,
WILLIAM M'MURTRIE,
SAMUEL W. FISHER,

} Committee.

Philadelphia, December 19, 1796.

There's a fine Congress-man for you!—This was the man who, in the presence of his many-headed sovereign, in town meeting assembled, proposed to kick the British Treaty to hell; and it was for this patriotic motion, I presume, that his gracious liege chose him for a representative. Discreet choice! immaculate delegate! infallible sovereign! If there's a damn'd rotten rascally borough in the universe, that ever made such a choice as this, I'll be bound to cut my throat, and suffer the sans culotte sovereign of the county of Philadelphia, the hob snob sniggars-sneers of Germantown, to kick me about in my blood, till my corpse is as ugly and filthy and disgusting as their living carcasses are.

to frighten the people of these States into a choice agreeable to the tyrants of France. From the intended effects of this nefarious, this detestable project, we have been preserved, not by the counter endeavours of the friends to government, for these were at once tardy and ill conducted; not by the influence of the public prints, for three-fourths of them aided the cause of the treacherous foe; not by that pretended light which we have acquired in these illuminating days, for in all those places where men are most conversant in what is called politics, there the French have received the greatest support; but by that *plain good sense*, the natural effect of experience operating on a sound mind. It is this quality, in a people far preferable to all the brilliancy of wit and talents, that has saved America in so many perils, in spite of all the vile and subtle arts of enemies foreign and domestic, and even in spite of national passions and prejudices.

THE FESTIVAL OF FOOLS.

“ On Thursday, the 6th of February, at O’Eler’s Hotel, the Anniversary of Alliance between
 “ the American and French Republics [that is to
 “ say *French Monarchy*] was commemorated by as
 “ respectable an association of citizens as was, per-
 “ haps, ever convened, *on a similar occasion* [well
 “ put in].—The company consisted of a large num-
 “ ber of members of the Federal and State Legi-
 “ slatures, of citizens of acknowledged *patriotism*,
 “ and foreigners of distinction, among whom was
 “ *Dr. Priestley*, [and *Citizen Adet*.]—Chief Jus-
 “ tice M’Kean, and Mr. Langdon [Old Johnny
 “ Langdon] presided.—The enthusiasm, convi-
 “ vial gaiety, and elevation of patriotism, inspired
 “ by

“ by the celebration “of an æra interesting in the
 “ annals of liberty, *shed* through the whole compa-
 “ ny a *glow* of *light*, which every one *felt* and ex-
 “ pressed with *ardour*. The *repast* was enjoyed
 “ with *moderation* [bless us !], and without even an
 “ approach to *intemperance*.”

Now, hang me, Mr. Newsmonger, if I believe this last assertion; for though I am none of the most incredulous; though I know the magic, and more than magic, power of liberty; though I might even raise my mind to the conception of nonsense, and really believe that this enchantress did *shed* a *glow*, and a *glow* of *light* too, and that that *light* was *felt*; though it is possible that I might be elevated or stupid enough to believe all this, or rascal enough to pretend to believe it, yet I never can or will believe that there was no “approach to *intemperance*” at this civic festival; unless want of cash prevented it.—When I enter on the pious office of Gazette-Man, I will observe a stricter adherence to truth.

But, to proceed; “After dinner the following TOASTS were *drank*,” that is to say, in English, *drunk*.—But why do I attempt to criticise? We all know, that, in literature, a Newsmonger ranks next after a dray-horse.

Now to the *Toasts* that *were drank*, and that I have kept too long from the thirsty reader.

1. THE DAY—may it ever be a festival to freemen; and the alliance which it gave birth to, be regarded, as a key stone in the arch of liberty—Music, *Yankee doodle*.

2. The People—knowledge to discern their rights and spirit and firmness to assert them.—*Réveil du Peuple*.

3. The United States—may they ever be an asylum for the oppressed, and become a terror to oppressors.

As they are now to the vile, infamous Gallic oppressors of our commerce, I suppose ?

4 The Republic of France—may she be as distinguished in peace, as she is formidable in war—that her happiness may allure other nations into an imitation of her example—*ça ira*.

5. The Batavian Republic—may her experience instruct other nations to shun a tyrant's grasp, for a freeman's embrace.—*La Carmagnole*.

Excellent irony !

6. The Revolutionary Army of the United States—may the fruits of their labours be no longer enjoyed by the enemies of American Independence—*Lexington march*.

That is to say ; “ rise, sans-culottes, and seize on the property of the rich ! ”

7. The memory of those heroes, who fell in defence of American Liberty—may the inscription upon their tombs, call a tear from gratitude, and a blush from *apostacy*.—Solemn music.

8. The philosophers and patriots, who planned and conducted the American Revolution—may the splendour of their actions and the dignity of their measures, teach governments, that *honesty* is the best policy.

9. The Constitution of the United States—may it prove an effectual, and not a *nominal check* on the *designs of ambition*.

We understand all this perfectly well. The charge of *apostacy*, the hint at *dishonesty*, and the check on the *designs of ambition*, are taken from Paine's most impudent and infamous letter to General Washington. Would that their beer had been drugged with something that would for ever, aye for ever, have silenced their factious tongues !

10. The Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, may she be as distinguished in the cause of republicanism, as she has been conspicuous in that of humanity.

“Poor Pennsylvania keeps no gallows!” says a modern poem, in which *gallozes*, with singular elegance and harmony, rhymes to *Dallas*. Poor unfortunate state! Look at the men who extol thy *humanity*, and then blush at it.

11. The Freedom of the Press, may this palladium of our rights ever remain uninfluenced by power, unbiassed by party, and unseduced by *corruption*.

This last toast might have been spared in tenderness to the feelings of Citizen Adet, and Mr. Bache.

12. The memory of Franklin and Rittenhouse—may their *example* instruct the philosopher and the statesman, that true glory consists in *doing good to mankind*. Solemn music.

That deism is philosophy no one will deny, and therefore I cannot dispute the claim here preferred to the title; but what good did Rittenhouse do to mankind? Dr. Rush, indeed, says, that he did a great deal, and particularly to his own country; but, with all due submission to the hyperbolic bombast of Dr. Rush, and his *eulogium* on the *politics* of Mr. Rittenhouse, I never heard of any good to mankind, and particularly America, that he did, except determining the boundaries of some of the States, “which he did with *great precision*,” and which I could have done as well as he, had I received the same pay for it. One singular service, indeed, he rendered his country, and that *gratis* too: he volunteered as *president* of that seditious club, the Democratic Society of Philadelphia, and he himself signed the inflammatory resolves against the excise law, which encouraged the malcontents to rise in open rebellion, for the quelling of which,
reader,

reader, you and I have paid, and still pay, a portion of our earnings.—The devil take such “good” to mankind,” I say!—Doctor Rush is a very fine man, to be sure, and he writes in a fine doctor like manner; but the remorseless Doctor Rush shall *bleed me* till I am as white as this paper, before I’ll allow that this was “doing good to mankind.”

Mr. Rittenhouse’s real friends have too much discretion to compliment his understanding at the expense of his heart. They confess that his simplicity and want of political knowledge exposed him to the duplicity of those subtle fiends in human shape, who were at the bottom of the democratic institution, and who only wanted the weight of his name. But his eulogist will insist that he was so profound, so far-sighted a politician, that he even scented the delicious days of republicanism *twenty years* before they arrived! Nay, such is the zeal of Dr. Rush. that he vows and declares his friend was *born a republican*; though every one knows, that he was born under the royal government of Britain. But, don’t let us misconstrue the Doctor; he means a *mental* republican. *Born a mental* republican! Upon my soul it is a wonder he had not traced his republicanism a little further back, and turned the eulogium on his deceased subject into a lecture of anatomy.

Either Mr. Rittenhouse was the dupe of the Democratic Society, or he was not. If he was, the eulogium on his politics was as unjust as it was absurd: if he was not, the eulogium on his goodness of heart was more so. In short all that is said, in this performance, of Mr. Rittenhouse’s philosophy, should have been better said, and all that is said of his politics should have been omitted. The former is a dry uninteresting narrative, and the latter so glaring a departure from truth, that it will attract

tract but little more respect for his memory, than the hog's-wash *toasts* of the factious Society of which he was President.

We now come to *Doctor Franklin's* "good to mankind."—As a politician, his wishing to give up the fisheries and Western Posts, for fear of offending France, is a convincing proof of his merit, and must render a toast to his memory particularly pleasing to Citizen Adet. As a *moralist* the Doctor's "*example*" is certainly a useful one; more especially in a country like this that is thinly inhabited. "Increase and multiply," is an injunction that this great man had continually in his mind; and such was his zeal in the fulfilment of it, that he paid very little attention to time or place or person.

13. The Arts and Sciences; May the former be cultivated for our comfort, and the latter for our security.

14. The sister Republics of America and France; As the exertions of France contributed to our freedom, may the exertions of America never tend to her oppression. *Marsillois hymn.*

15. Peace, Liberty and Independence; may we cultivate the one as necessary to our prosperity; cherish the other as essential to our happiness; and never prostitute the latter to ambition or tyranny.

16. The *Republic of Great Britain*; may the *present year* witness a jubilee, as necessary to the happiness of Britons as to the tranquillity of mankind. *Britons strike home.*

I presume that Doctor Priestley gave this toast; that same loyal Doctor Priestley, who in justifying himself to the people of Birmingham, told them that he had toasted "the king and constitution."——About this gentleman I shall say more by-and-by; at present I would ask, how it happens, that all the declared enemies of Great Britain, pray that she may become a *Republic*! Is this a proof of their
looking

looking upon such a change as a blessing, or as a curse?—"Britons *strike home*." That is, to the heart of your sovereign.—No; you spiteful, bloody-minded sans-culottes; Britons, true Britons, scorn your insinuation, and reject your sanguinary precept with horror. When they *strike home*, it is against those foes of their king and their country, who have the courage to face them: as for impotent enemies like you, whose prowess is confined to malicious wishes, spewed out over your muddy beverage, you are too much honoured by their contempt.

18. Spain, the friend of France, and the United States; may our treaty with her never give way to Mr. Jay's.

This *friend* of the United States, has just declared war against Great Britain, and one of the reasons, is, that Great Britain, in her treaty with America, *has sacrificed the interests of Spain!* There's *friendship* for you now! Did you ever hear of such friendship in your life?

19. The Governor of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania.

20. A speedy relief to Thomas Muir, that suffering friend of liberty.

"Pennsylvania keeps no gallows," either, for *sedition* or *overdrawing at the Bank*. Huzza! Huzza!

21. The combined fleets of France, Spain and Batavia,

And may they quit their ports, and come with-
in gun-shot of John Bull.

After Dr. Priestley retired.

22. May liberty be as immortal, as science and the name of Priestley.

23. Thomas

23. Thomas Jefferson, the illustrious philosopher, patriot and statesman.

24. National Gratitude ; may it ever be recognized by free-men, and denied by none but apostates.

After Mr. Adet retired.

25. Mr. Adet, late Minister of the French Republic.

This toast alone would have characterized the festival. Citizen Adet has heaped insult upon insult on the government and on the whole country, and yet he was entitled to the applause of these people. Such applause, however, must be but a poor compensation for the cold reception that the Citizen meets with every where else. It was a sort of dumb peal to his departed rank. Since his self-suspension, his diplomatic suicide, he is become a mere carcass ; a carcass that does still walk about, tis true ; but the ministerial soul is fled, and perhaps, already animates some luckier mortal.—He is, or rather he was (poor man !) a member of the Philosophical Society of Philadelphia, and, as such, I make no doubt that the eulogist in ordinary is now preparing his funeral oration. His having departed this life three months ago, is of no kind of consequence with these philosophers, who always think that it is time enough to begin weeping for a deceased brother when his body is half devoured by the worms.

The chief justice being retired.

26. Thomas M'Kean, Chief Justice of Pennsylvania.

Reader, comparisons are odious you know, and therefore don't you go to ask me what the people of Westminster would have thought, if they had seen Lord Mansfield boozing and bawling in a public house along with thirty or forty of the rabble, headed by a foreign agent, at open enmity with the government.

government. What suits very well in one country, does not suit at all in another; and therefore I I beg you will not ask me any such sneering questions as this.

However, every one may speak for himself, and I will say, that if ever I should become a judge (of which I see no reason to despair), and should so far forget the dignity of my station as to become the companion of a herd of sottish malcontents. may all the world that moment forget what is due to me. May my family disown my sway; may my own rib rise up against my lawful authority; may she be the cursedest shrew that ever wielded a broomstick; may she belabour me *with the tongs*, cut me *over the eye*, rib-roast me, till I am obliged to *call in the neighbours* to shelter me from the effects of her wrath.

Mr. Langdon having retired.

27. John Langdon, an old *whig*.

Do you know what an *old whig* is, reader? It is a very ill-looking, nasty, despised and neglected thing, fit for nothing but to be trodden under foot, or thrown to the dunghill. Whigs, when new, are passable; and, some years ago, they were very fashionable, and very useful too; but of late years, whether new or old, they have been found to be of no kind of utility, either in England or this country. The fact is, that the whigs, at last, thought themselves heads, and from that moment, every man, who had too much spirit to be whig-ridden, threw off the cumbrous companion.

I shall now dismiss the *toasters*, but not without remarking, what is well worth remarking, that, as *Doctor Priestley* assisted at the Philadelphia commemoration of the French alliance, so *Napper Tandy* assisted at the same commemoration at New York, where

where the *toasts* breathed just as much foul air against the Federal Government as those of Philadelphia did. This would prove, if proof of the fact were were yet wanted, that men of faction wall still be factious in whatever country and under whatever government they may live. Here is no established hierarchy for Doctor Priestley to rail at, nor are there any *tithes* for him to wrangle for; and yet he cannot be quiet. Wherever the standard of discontent is hoisted, there the Doctor is a volunteer, ready armed and accoutred, whether it be in a conventicle or a club-room, whether the attack be to be made with scraps of scripture, mangled and profaned from the quivering lips of malice, or with blackguard toasts roared forth from the lungs of gluttony and drunkenness.

After this instance of hostility (as far as exhausted powers can lead him) against the general government of America, I hope we shall hear no more of his peaceable disposition, of his coming amongst us "to enjoy that toleration which his native land denied him," and of his wish to "continue *unmolested* those pursuits of various literature to which, without having ever entered into any *political connections*, his life has been devoted." If he never before entered into *political connections*, he has done it now, at any rate. If his present *intimacy*, I say *intimacy*, with Citizen Adet; his toasting success to the fleets of France, Spain, and Batavia, and the insulting sarcasms on the Federal Government, contained in the above list: if his herding along with all those who hate, who oppose and who slander this government, and whose only object is to overturn it, and render the country dependant on France; if this be not entering into *political connections*, I do not know what is.

I hope also, that those who were simple enough to believe the Doctor, when he professed his attachment

tachment to the royal government of his country; and solemnly declared that neither he nor his friends thought of, or wished for, a revolution, will be convinced of his duplicity, when they hear him toasting "The *Republic* of Great Britain," and wishing that the present year may witness the *jubilée*; the revolutionary jubilee, the jubilee of plunder and carnage, of incendiaries, thieves, philosophers, and cannibals.

The conduct of this persevering demagogue, and that of all those who, like him, have fled from Britain to America, is the best justification that the strong measures of Billy Pitt can have. While on the other side of the water, they only wanted a *reform*, a gentle reform; a very little would have done; a correction of abuses or so. They only wanted to "restore to the constitution its *primitive purity*," "its ancient integrity and *excellence*." The tools of "power had insinuated that they wanted to *pull down*, when their only intention was to *repair* "the *goodly fabric*." This was their plaintive cant while in England; but, once arrived in America, once removed from the dangers of Botany Bay, the jail and the halter, they have no scruple to confess, nay they boast, that if *tyranny* had not disappointed their projects, they would, ere this, have repaired "the *goodly fabric*," into a republic, and buried King George under the rubbish.

Let this, then, be a warning to you, Englishmen (if ever these remarks should fall into your hands): beware of the pit that these subtle fiends are preparing for you; be blind to their pauper exhibitions, and deaf to their crocodile cries. If you follow them but one step, you are gone, you are engulfed for ever. Under your government, whatever faults it may have (for none ever was without), your property and persons are in safety; under the change that they would operate, neither would be
of

of long existence : first, they would take your money and goods, and then, for fear of your revenge for the robbery, your lives. This is the sure and certain progress in which they advance, and to this tend all their words and all their actions. We know them better than you do. The sight of the gibbet kept them in awe, imposed a restraint on their tongues ; we have seen their bosoms bare, and have had the discretion to profit from the discovery.

When in Britain, they, like their apostle of sedition, Paine, held up our government to your imitation, and dunned your ears with the *rare talents* and *virtues* of our Chief ; but now, behold ! they slander both. Our government is but a copy of yours, and General Washington is become an *apostate*, a *hypocrite*. This “ *land of liberty*,” to which they fled, as they pretended, from the “ rude arm “ of lawless power,” is now become a den for slaves, “ where the proud tyrant, aristocracy of wealth, “ lords it over the honest but indigent citizen.”—The same tone, the same language, the very same expressions, are now applied to this government, with which you were formerly amused, and, I am sorry to say it, of which you had nearly been the dupes. If this does not rouse you from your credulity, if this does not open your eyes, you deserve to be plunged into all the horrors of revolution, into desolation without bounds, and miseries without end.

Recollect that this lesson comes to you from the United States of America, from Philadelphia, the spot to which your deceivers resorted in hopes of meeting men of their own minds. To say that they have fallen into neglect would be too much, for they never were noticed. Poverty, though rarely visible here, is generally their lot. A threadbare coat, a dirty shirt, and a long beard are, with us, the distinctive marks of a *Republican Briton*. And

these are the wretches, oh ! credulous Englishmen ! that were leading you about in crowds at their heels. These were your oracles, the expositors of your laws, and the defenders of your rights. These scrofulous philosophers, these political lepers, whom we sicken but to see, you were hugging to your bosoms !

“ Wisdom is in age ;” but, it seems, this maxim does not hold good with respect to nations. In the calendar of states, America was born but yesterday ; yet she has had the discernment to see through, and to frustrate, the designs of those men, who have destroyed the fairest part of Europe, and have shook the rest to its véry base. There they had to encounter adamantine institutions grown stronger with time : here there seemed nothing to oppose them, the whole continent lay open to their demon-like assaults ; yet have they been completely defeated by the peaceful operation of the national *good sense*.

FEBRUARY, 1797.

STATE PAPER,

CONTAINING A

BRIEF STATEMENT OF THE INJURIES AND INSULTS
RECEIVED FROM THE FRENCH.

THE following report was presented to the House of Representatives, with an extensive appendix.

“ The secretary of state, in pursuance of the order of the House of Representatives, of the 8th of May, 1796, on the memorial and petition of sundry citizens of the United States residing in the city of Philadelphia, relative to the losses they have sustained by the capture of their property by French armed vessels on the high seas, or in consequence of the forced or voluntary sales of their provisions and merchandize, to the officers of the colonial administrations of the French republic, having examined the same, together with accounts of similar losses sustained by American citizens from the French, in the European seas, or in the ports of France, which in the details were necessarily connected with the former ;

“ RESPECTFULLY REPORTS,

“ That since the commencement of the present war, various and continual complaints have been
B b 2 made

made by the citizens of the United States to the department of state, and to the ministers of the United States in France, of injuries done to their commerce under the authority of the French republic. These injuries were—

“ 1st. Spoliations and maltreatment of their vessels at sea, by French ships of war and privateers.

“ 2d. A distressing and long continued embargo laid upon their vessels at Bourdeaux in the years 1793 and 1794.

“ 3d. The non-payment of bills and other evidences of debts due, drawn by the colonial administration in the West Indies.

“ 4th. The seizure or forced sales of the cargoes of their vessels, and appropriating them to public use, without paying for them, or paying inadequately, or delaying payment for a length of time.

“ 5th. The non-performance of contracts made by the agents for the government supplies.

“ 6th. The condemnation of their vessels and cargoes under such of the marine ordinances of France as are incompatible with the treaties subsisting between the two countries. And,

“ 7th. The captures sanctioned by a decree of the National Convention of the 9th of May, 1793, which, in violation of the treaty of amity and commerce, declared enemies' goods on board of their vessels, lawful prizes, and directed the French ships of war and privateers to bring into port neutral vessels laden with provisions and bound to an enemy's port.

“ It may be proper to remark here, that this decree of the Convention directed the capture of neutral vessels laden with provisions and destined for enemy's ports, preceded by one month, the order of the British government for capturing “ all vessels
“ loaded

“ loaded with corn, flour or meal, bound to any
“ port in France.”

“ Such was the nature of the claims of the citizens of the United States upon the French republic, previous to the departure of Mr. Monroe as minister plenipotentiary to France, in the summer of 1794, and since his residence there. To him were intrusted the documents which had been collected to substantiate particular complaints; and he was instructed to press the French government to ascertain and pay what might be found justly due from time to time; as additional cases rose, they were transmitted to him with a like view. In September of that year, he assigned to his secretary, Mr. Skipwith (with the provisional appointment of consul at Paris) the charge of stating the cases, and placing them in the proper train of settlement; reserving to himself the duty of fixing general principles with the government, and patronizing and superintending his proceedings.

“ In conformity with the direction of the minister, Mr. Skipwith shortly afterwards made a general report on the injuries, and difficulties, and vexations to which the commerce of the United States was subjected by the regulations and restraints of the French government, or by the abuses practised by its agents: to which he added a number of particular cases. This report was laid before the French government; and added to the various representations of Mr. Monroe, and his predecessor, it produced a decree of the joint Committee of Public Safety, Finance, Commerce, and Supplies, dated 15th November, 1794. This decree, apparently calculated to remedy many of the evils complained of, afforded but a very partial, in respect to compensations, a comparatively small relief, while it continued in force the principles of the decree of the 9th May, 1793, which rendered liable to

seizure and confiscation, the goods of enemies found on board neutral vessels. American vessels had been declared exempt from that part of the decree of the 9th May, which authorized the seizing of vessels going to an enemy's port with provisions, by the decree of the National Convention of the 28th July, 1793.

“ On the appearance of the decree of the 9th of May, the American minister at Paris remonstrated against it, as a violation of the treaty of commerce between France and the United States. In consequence thereof, the Convention, by a decree of the 23d of the same month, declare, “ that the vessels “ of the United States are not comprehended in the “ regulations of the 9th of May.” M. Le Brun, the minister of foreign affairs, on the 26th of May, communicated this second decree to our minister, accompanying it with these words, “ You will there “ find a new confirmation of the principles from “ which the French people will never depart, with “ regard to their good friends and allies the people “ of the United States of America.” Yet two days only had elapsed, before those principles were departed from; on the 28th of May, the Convention repealed their decree of the 23d. The owners of a French privateer that had captured a very rich American ship, the *Laurens*, found means to effect the repeal, to enable them to keep hold of their prize. They had even the apparent hardness to say before hand, that the decree of the 23d would be repealed.

“ The American minister again complained. So on the first of July the Convention passed a fourth decree, again declaring, “ That the vessels of the “ United States are not comprized in the regula- “ tions of the decree of the 9th of May; conform- “ ably to the 16th [it should be called the 23d] “ article of the treaty concluded the 6th of Febru-
“ ary,

“ary, 1778.” The new minister for foreign affairs, M. Desforgues, accompanies this new decree of July 1st, with the following expression—“I am
 “very happy in being able to give you this new
 “proof of the fraternal sentiments of the French
 “people for their allies, and of their determination
 “to maintain to the utmost of their power the
 “treaties subsisting between the two republics;”
 yet this decree proved as unstable as the former;
 on the 27th of July it was repealed.

“The next decree on this subject was that of the joint committee of the 15th of November, 1794, already mentioned. Then followed the decree of the Committee of Public Safety of the 4th of January, 1795, (14 Nivôse, 3d year) repealing the 5th article in the decree of the 15th November preceding, and in effect the articles in the original decree of the 9th of May, 1793, by which the treaty with the United States had been infringed. It is not necessary for the secretary to add, that the decree of the 4th January, 1795, has been repealed by the decree of the Executive Directory of the 2d of July, 1796, under colour of which are committed the shocking depredations on the commerce of the United States which are daily exhibited in the newspapers. The agents of the Executive Directory to the Leeward Islands (Leblanc, Sonthonax, and Raimond) on the 27th of November passed a decree for the capturing all American vessels bound to or from British ports. The secretary presumes this is not an arbitrary, unauthorized act of their own, but that it is conformable to the intentions of the Executive Directory; the privateers of the French republic in Europe, having captured some American vessels on the same pretence; and the consul of the republic at Cadiz having explicitly avowed his determination to condemn American vessels on that
 B b 4 ground,

ground, pleading the decree of the Directory for his authority.

“ The secretary has already intimated that the decree of the 15th November 1794, was not followed by the extensively good effects expected from it. By a communication from Mr. Skipwith, of the 10th of last September (the latest communication from him, in answer to the secretary's request for information) it appears that the claims for detention of 103 American vessels by the embargo at Bourdeaux remained undetermined: no funds having been appropriated for the payment of them; and that none of the bills drawn by the colonial administration in the West Indies had been paid to him: the treasury having tendered payment in assignats at their nominal value, and afterwards in another species of paper, called mandats, which had suffered a great depreciation even before they were put into circulation; both of which modes of payment were refused to be accepted. The progress made by Mr. Skipwith in the adjustment of other claims, so far as known to the secretary, will appear in the annexed statement, copies of which were transmitted ten months ago to the officers of the principal collectors of the customs, from the department of state, for the information of our mercantile citizens.

“ That nothing might be left undone which could be accomplished by the executive, the attention of General Pinckney, the present minister of the United States to France, was particularly directed to the subject of these claims; but the interval which has elapsed since his departure, has not admitted of any interesting communication from him on this business.

“ In connection with other spoliations by French armed vessels, the secretary intended to mention those
those

those committed under a decree, dated the first of August 1796, issued by Victor Hugues and Lebas, the special agents of the executive directory to the Windward Islands, declaring all vessels loaded with contraband articles of any kind, liable to seizure and confiscation with their entire cargoes; without making any discrimination in favour of those which might be bound to neutral, or even to French ports. This decree has been enforced against the American trade without any regard to the established forms of legal proceedings, as will appear from the annexed deposition of Josiah Hempstead, master of the brigantine *Patty of Weathersfield*, a copy of the decree also is annexed.

"The secretary has received a printed copy of another decree of the same special agents to the Windward Islands, dated the 13th Pluvôise, 5th year, answering to February 1st, 1797, authorizing the capture of all neutral vessels destined to any of the Windward or Leeward Islands, in America, which have been delivered up to the English, and occupied or defended by emigrants, naming Martinique, St. Lucie, Tobago, Demarara, Berbice, and Essequibo; and to leeward, Port-au-Prince, St. Marc, L'Arcahay, and Jeremie; declaring such vessels and their cargoes to be good prize, as well as all vessels cleared out vaguely for the West Indies, a copy of this last decree, will be added to this report as soon as it shall be translated. All which is respectfully submitted.

"TIMOTHY PICKERING."

"Department of State, }
Feb. 27, 1797." }

WASHINGTON'S

WASHINGTON'S RETIRING.

WE are come to the epocha, when General Washington retired from public life ; I shall, therefore, insert his farewell address to the people of the United States, which appeared in September last ; and shall place after it some of those publications, which, while they tend to throw some light on his character and conduct, will prove to my readers, that his "*grateful* fellow citizens" did not always look upon him as a God.

"TO the PEOPLE of the UNITED STATES.

"*Friends and Fellow Citizens,*

"The period for a new election of a citizen, to administer the executive government of the United States, being not far distant, and the time actually arrived, when your thoughts must be employed in designating the person, who is to be clothed with that important trust, it appears to me proper, especially as it may conduce to a more distinct expression of the public voice, that I should now apprise you of the resolution I have formed, to decline being considered among the number of those, out of whom a choice is to be made.

"I beg you, at the same time, to do me the justice to be assured, that this resolution has not been taken, without a strict regard to all the considerations appertaining to the relation, which binds a dutiful citizen to his country ; and that, in withdrawing the tender of service which silence in my situation might imply, I am influenced by no diminution of zeal for your future interest ; no deficiency

ency of grateful respect for your past kindness ; but am supported by a full conviction that the step is compatible with both.

“ The acceptance of, and continuance hitherto in the office to which your suffrages have twice called me, have been an uniform sacrifice of inclination to the opinion of duty, and to a deference to what appeared to be your desire. I constantly hoped, that it would have been much earlier in my power, consistently with motives I was not at liberty to disregard, to return to that retirement, from which I had been reluctantly drawn. The strength of my inclination to do this previous to the last election, had even led to the preparation of an address to declare it to you ; but mature reflection on the then perplexed and critical posture of our affairs with foreign nations, and the unanimous advice of persons entitled to my confidence, impelled me to abandon the idea.

“ I rejoice, that the state of your concerns, external as well as internal, no longer renders the pursuit of inclination incompatible with the sentiment of duty, or propriety ; and am persuaded whatever partiality may be retained for my services, that in the present circumstances of our country, you will not disapprove my determination to retire.

“ The impressions with which I first undertook the arduous trust, were explained on the proper occasion. In the discharge of this trust, I will only say, that I have with good intentions, contributed towards the organization and administration of the government, the best exertions of which a very fallible judgment was capable. Not unconscious, in the outset, of the inferiority of my qualifications, experience in my own eyes, perhaps still more in the eyes of others, has strengthened the motives to diffidence of myself ; and every day the increasing weight

weight of years admonishes me more and more, that the shade of retirement is as necessary to me as it will be welcome. Satisfied that if any circumstances have given peculiar value to my services, they were temporary, I have the consolation to believe, that while choice and prudence invite me to quit the political scene, patriotism does not forbid it.

“ In looking forward to the moment, which is intended to terminate the career of my public life, my feelings do not permit me to suspend the deep acknowledgement of that debt of gratitude which I owe to my beloved country, for the many honours it has conferred upon me ; still more for the steadfast confidence with which it has supported me ; and for the opportunities I have thence enjoyed of manifesting my inviolable attachment, by services faithful and persevering, though in usefulness unequal to my zeal. If benefits have resulted to our country from these services, let it always be remembered to your praise, and as an instructive example in our annals, that under circumstances in which the passions, agitated in every direction, were liable to mislead, amidst appearances sometimes dubious—vicissitudes of fortune often discouraging—in situations in which not unfrequently want of success has countenanced the spirit of criticism ; the constancy of your support was the essential prop of the efforts, and a guarantee of the plans by which they were effected.—Profoundly penetrated with this idea, I shall carry it with me to my grave, as a strong incitement to unceasing vows that heaven may continue to you the choicest tokens of its beneficence—that your union and brotherly affection may be perpetual—that the free constitution, which is the work of your hands, may be sacredly maintained—that its administration in every department may be stamped with wisdom and virtue—that, in
fine,

fine, the happiness of the people of these States, under the auspices of liberty, may be made complete by so careful a preservation and so prudent a use of this blessing as will acquire to them the glory of recommending it to the applause, the affection and adoption of every nation which is yet a stranger to it.

“ Here, perhaps, I ought to stop. But a solicitude for your welfare, which cannot end but with my life, and the apprehension of danger, natural to that solicitude, urge me on an occasion like the present, to offer to your solemn contemplation, and to recommend to your frequent review, some sentiments, which are the result of much reflection, of no inconsiderable observation, and which appear to me all important to the permanence of your felicity as a people.—These will be offered to you with more freedom, as you can only see in them the disinterested warnings of a parting friend, who can possibly have no personal motive to bias his counsel. Nor can I forget, as an encouragement to it, your indulgent reception of my sentiments on a former and not dissimilar occasion.

“ Interwoven as is the love of liberty with every ligament of your hearts, no recommendation of mine is necessary to fortify or confirm the attachment.

“ The unity of government which constitutes you one people, is also now dear to you. It is justly so; for it is a main pillar in the edifice of your real independence, the support of your tranquillity at home, your peace abroad; of your safety; of your prosperity; of that very liberty which you so highly prize. But as it is easy to foresee, that from different causes and from different quarters, much pains will be taken, many artifices employed to weaken in your minds the conviction of this truth; as this is the point in your political fortress against which
the

the batteries of internal and external enemies will be most constantly and actively (though often covertly and insidiously) directed, it is of infinite moment, that you should properly estimate the immense value of your national Union, to your collective and individual happiness; that you should cherish a cordial, habitual and immoveable attachment to it; accustoming yourselves to think and speak of it as of the palladium of your political safety and prosperity; watching for its preservation with jealous anxiety; discountenancing whatever may suggest even a suspicion that it can in any event be abandoned; and indignantly frowning upon the first dawning of every attempt to alienate any portion of our country from the rest, or to enfeeble the sacred ties which now link together the various parts.

“ For this you have every inducement of sympathy and interest. Citizens by birth or choice, of a common country, that country has a right to concentrate your affections. The name of AMERICAN, which belongs to you in your natural capacity must always exalt the pride of patriotism, more than any appellation derived from local discriminations. With slight shades of difference, you have the same religion, manners, habits, and political principles.—You have in a common cause fought and triumphed together; the independence and liberty you possess are the work of joint councils, and joint efforts, of common dangers, sufferings and successes.

“ But these considerations, however powerfully they address themselves to your sensibility, are greatly outweighed by those which apply more immediately to your interest. Here every portion of our country finds the most commanding motives for carefully guarding and preserving the Union of the whole.

“ The

“The *North* in an unrestrained intercourse with the *South*, protected by the equal laws of a common government, finds in the productions of the latter, great additional resources of maritime and commercial enterprise and precious materials of manufacturing industry. The *South* in the same intercourse, benefiting by the agency of the *North*, sees its agriculture grow and its commerce expand. Turning partly into its own channels the seamen of the *North*, it finds its particular navigation invigorated; and while it contributes in different ways, to nourish and increase the general mass of the national navigation, it looks forward to the protection of a maritime strength, to which itself is unequally adapted. The *East* in a like intercourse with the *West*, already finds, and in the progressive improvement of interior communications by land and water will more and more find, a valuable vent for the commodities which it brings from abroad or manufactures at home.—The *West* derives from the *East* supplies requisite to its growth and comfort—and what is perhaps of still greater consequence, it must of necessity owe the secure enjoyment of indispensable outlets for its own productions to the weight, influence, and the future maritime strength of the Atlantic side of the Union, directed by an indissoluble community of interest as *one nation*—Any other tenure by which the *West* can hold this essential advantage, whether derived from its own separate strength, or from an apostate and unnatural connection with any foreign power, must be intrinsically precarious.

“While then every part of our country thus feels an immediate and particular interest in union, all the parts combined cannot fail to find in the united mass of means and efforts greater strength, greater resource, proportionably greater security, from external danger, a less frequent interruption of their
peace

peace by foreign nations ;—and what is of inestimable value ! they must derive from union an exemption from those broils and wars between themselves, which so frequently afflict neighbouring countries, not tied together by the same government ; which their own rivalships alone would be sufficient to produce, but which opposite foreign alliances, attainments and intrigues would stimulate and embitter. —Hence, likewise, they will avoid the necessity of those overgrown military establishments, which under any form of government are inauspicious to liberty, and which are to be regarded as particularly hostile to republican liberty ; in this sense it is, that your union ought to be considered as a main prop to your liberty, and that the love of the one ought to endear to you the preservation of the other.

“ These considerations speak a persuasive language to every reflecting and virtuous mind, and exhibit the continuance of the union as a primary object of patriotic desire.—Is there a doubt, whether a common government can embrace so large a sphere ?—Let experience solve it. To listen to mere speculation in such a case were criminal. We are authorized to hope that a proper organization of the whole, with the auxiliary agency of governments for the respective subdivisions, will afford a happy issue to the experiment. ’Tis well worth a fair and full experiment. With such powerful and obvious motives to union, affecting all parts of our country, while experience shall not have demonstrated its impracticability, there will always be reason to distrust the patriotism of those, who in any quarter may endeavour to weaken its bands.

“ In contemplating the causes which may disturb our union, it occurs as matter of serious concern, that any ground should have been furnished for characterizing parties by geographical discriminations
—Northern

—Northern and Southern—Atlantic and Western ; whence designing men may endeavour to excite a belief that there is a real difference of local interests and views. One of the expedients of party to acquire influence, within particular districts, is to misrepresent the opinions and aims of other districts. You cannot shield yourselves too much against the jealousies and heart burnings which spring from these misrepresentations: they tend to render alien to each other those who ought to be bound together by fraternal affection. The inhabitants of our Western country have lately had a useful lesson on this head ; they have seen, in the negotiation by the Executive, and in the unanimous ratification by the Senate, of the treaty with Spain, and in the universal satisfaction at that event, throughout the United States, a decisive proof, how unfounded were the suspicions propagated among them of a policy in the general government and in the Atlantic States unfriendly to their interests in regard to the Mississippi: they have been witnesses to the formation of two treaties, that with Great Britain and that with Spain, which secure to them every thing they could desire, in respect to our foreign relations, towards confirming their prosperity. Will it not be their wisdom to rely for the preservation of these advantages on the union by which they were procured ? Will they not henceforth be deaf to those advisers, if such there are, who would sever them from their brethren and connect them with aliens ?

“ To the efficacy and permanency of your union, a government for the whole is indispensable—No alliances, however strict, between the parts can be an adequate substitute ; they must inevitably experience the infractions and interruptions which all alliances in all times have experienced. Sensible of

this momentous truth, you have improved upon your first essay, by the adoption of a constitution of government better calculated than your former for an intimate Union, and for the efficacious management of your common concerns. This government, the offspring of our own choice, uninfluenced and unawed, adopted upon full investigation and mature deliberation, completely free in its principles, in the distribution of its powers, uniting security with energy, and containing within itself a provision for its own amendment, has a just claim to your confidence and to your support. Respect for its authority, compliance with its laws, acquiescence in its measures, are duties enjoined by the fundamental maxims of true liberty. The basis of our political systems is the right of the people to make and to alter their constitutions of government—But the constitution which at any time exists, till changed by an explicit and authentic act of the whole people, is sacredly obligatory upon all. The very idea of the power and the right of the people to establish government presupposes the duty of every individual to obey the established government.

“ All obstructions to the execution of the laws, all combinations and associations, under whatever plausible character, with the real design to direct, controul, counteract, or awe the regular deliberation and action of the constituted authorities, are destructive of this fundamental principle, and of fatal tendency. They serve to organize faction, to give it an artificial and extraordinary force—to put in the place of the delegated will of the nation, the will of a party, often a small but artful and enterprising minority of the community; and, according to the alternate triumphs of different parties, to make the public administration the mirror of

of the ill concerted and incongruous projects of faction, rather than the organ of consistent and wholesome plans digested by common councils, and modified by mutual interests.

“ However combinations or associations of the above description may now and then answer popular ends, they are likely in the course of time and things, to become potent engines, by which cunning, ambitious and unprincipled men will be enabled to subvert the power of the people, and to usurp for themselves the reins of government; destroying afterwards the very engines which have lifted them up to unjust dominion.

“ Towards the preservation of your government, and the permanency of your present happy state, it is requisite, not only that you steadily discountenance irregular oppositions to its acknowledged authority, but also that you resist with care the spirit of innovation upon its principles however specious the pretexts.—One method of assault may be to effect in the forms of the constitution alterations which will impair the energy of the system, and thus to undermine what cannot be directly overthrown. In all the changes to which you may be invited, remember that time and habit are at least as necessary to fix the true character of governments, as of other human institutions—that experience is the surest standard, by which to test the real tendency of the existing constitution of a country—that facility in changes upon the credit of mere hypothesis and opinion exposes to perpetual change from the endless hypotheses and opinions; and remember, especially, that for the efficient management of your common interests, in a country so extensive as ours, a government of as much vigour as is consistent with the perfect security of liberty is indispensable. Liberty itself will find in such a government, with powers properly distributed and
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adjusted its surest guardian. It is, indeed, little else than a name, where the government is too feeble to withstand the enterprises of faction, to confine each member of the society within the limits prescribed by the laws, and to maintain all in the secure and tranquil enjoyment of the rights of person and property.

“ I have already intimated to you, the danger of parties in the state, with particular reference to the founding of them on geographical discriminations. Let me now take a more comprehensive view, and warn you in the most solemn manner against the baneful effects of the spirit of party, generally.

“ This spirit, unfortunately, is inseparable from our nature, having its root in the strongest passions of the human mind. It exists under different shapes in all governments, more or less stifled, controuled, or repressed ; but in those of the popular form it is seen in its greatest rankness and is truly their worst enemy.

“ The alternate domination of one faction over another, sharpened by the spirit of revenge natural to party dissention, which in different ages and countries has perpetrated the most horrid enormities, is itself a frightful despotism. But this leads at length to a more formal and permanent despotism. The disorders and miseries, which result, gradually incline the minds of men to seek security and repose in the absolute power of an individual : and sooner or later the chief of some prevailing faction, more able or more fortunate than his competitors, turns this disposition to the purposes of his own elevation, on the ruins of public liberty.

“ Without looking forward to an extremity of this kind (which nevertheless ought not to be entirely out of sight) the common and continual mischiefs of the spirit of party are sufficient to make it
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the interest and duty of a wise people to discourage and restrain it.

“ It serves always to distract the public councils, and enfeeble the public administration. It agitates the community with ill-founded jealousies and false alarms, kindles the animosity of one part against another, foment occasionally riot and insurrection. It opens the door to foreign influence and corruption, which find a facilitated access to the government itself through the channels of party passions. Thus the policy and the will of one country are subjected to the policy and will of another.

“ There is an opinion that parties in free countries are useful checks upon the administration of the government, and serve to keep alive the spirit of liberty. This within certain limits is probably true ;—and in governments of a monarchical cast, patriotism may look with indulgence, if not with favour upon the spirit of party. But in those of the popular character, in governments purely elective, it is a spirit not to be encouraged. From their natural tendency, it is certain there will always be enough of that spirit for every salutary purpose. And there being constant danger of excess, the effort ought to be, by force of public opinion, to mitigate and assuage it. A fire not to be quenched ; it demands a uniform vigilance to prevent its bursting into a flame, lest instead of warming, it should consume.

“ It is important likewise, that the habits of thinking in a free country, should inspire caution, in those entrusted with its administration, to confine themselves within their respective constitutional spheres, avoiding in the exercise of the powers of one department to encroach upon another. The spirit of encroachment tends to consolidate the powers of all the departments in one, and thus to create, whatever the form of government,

a real despotism. A just estimate of that love of power, and proneness to abuse it, which predominates in the human heart, is sufficient to satisfy us of the truth of this position. The necessity of reciprocal checks in the power; by dividing and distributing it into different depositories, and constituting each the guardian of the public weal against invasions by the others, has been evinced by experiments ancient and modern; some of them in our country and under our own eyes.

“ To preserve them must be as necessary as to institute them. If, in the opinion of the people, the distribution or modification of the constitutional powers be in any particular wrong, let it be corrected by an amendment in the way which the constitution designates.—But let there be no change by usurpation; for though this, in one instance, may be the instrument of good, it is the customary weapon by which free governments are destroyed—The precedent must always greatly over-balance in permanent evil any partial or transient benefit which the use can at any time yield.

“ Of all the dispositions and habits which lead to political prosperity, religion and morality are indispensable supports. In vain would that man claim the tribute of patriotism, who should labour to subvert these great pillars of human happiness, these firmest props of the duties of men and citizens. The mere politician, equally with the pious man, ought to respect and cherish them. A volume could not trace all their connections with private and public felicity—Let it simply be asked where is the security for property, for reputation, for life, if the sense of religious obligation *desert* the oaths, which are the instruments of investigation in courts of justice? And let us with caution indulge the supposition, that morality can be maintained without religion.—Whatever may be conceded to the influence

influence of refined education on minds of peculiar structure; reason and experience both forbid us to expect that national morality can prevail in exclusion of religious principle.

“ 'Tis substantially true, that virtue or morality is a necessary spring of popular government. The rule indeed extends with more or less force to every species of free government. Who that is a sincere friend to it can look with indifference upon attempts to shake the foundation of the fabric ?

“ Promote, then, as an object of primary importance, institutions for the general diffusion of knowledge. In proportion as the structure of a government gives force to public opinion, it is essential that public opinion should be enlightened.

“ As a very important source of strength and security, cherish public credit. One method of preserving it is to use it as sparingly as possible; avoiding occasions of expense by cultivating peace, but remembering also that timely disbursements to prepare for danger frequently prevent much greater disbursements to repel it; avoiding likewise the accumulation of debt, not only by shunning occasions of expense, but by vigorous exertions in time of peace to discharge the debts which unavoidable wars may have occasioned, not ungenerously throwing upon posterity the burthen which we ourselves ought to bear. The execution of these maxims belongs to your representatives, but it is necessary that public opinion should co-operate. To facilitate to them the performance of their duty, it is essential that you should practically bear in mind, that towards the payment of debts there must be revenue, that to have revenue there must be taxes; that no taxes can be devised which are not more or less inconvenient and unpleasant; that the intrinsic embarrassment inseparable from the selection of the proper objects (which is always a

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choice of difficulties) ought to be a decisive motive for a candid construction of the conduct of the government in making it, and for a spirit of acquiescence in the measures for obtaining revenue, which the public exigencies may at any time dictate.

“ Observe good faith and justice towards all nations, cultivate peace and harmony with all, religion and morality enjoin this conduct; and can it be that good policy does not equally enjoin it? It will be worthy of a free, enlightened, and, at no distant period, a great nation, to give mankind the magnanimous and too novel example of a people always guided by an exalted justice and benevolence. Who can doubt that in the course of time and things the fruits of such a plan would richly repay any temporary advantages which might be lost by a steady adherence to it? Can it be, that Providence has not connected the permanent felicity of a nation with its virtue? The experiment at least, is recommended by every sentiment which ennobles human nature. Alas! is it rendered impossible by its vices?

“ In the execution of such a plan, nothing is more essential than that permanent, inveterate antipathies against particular nations, and passionate attachments for others, should be excluded; and that in place of them just and amicable feelings towards all should be cultivated. The nation which indulges towards another an habitual hatred, or an habitual fondness, is in some degree a slave. It is a slave to its animosity or to its affection, either of which is sufficient to lead it astray from its duty and its interest. Antipathy in one nation against another disposes each more readily to offer insult and injury, to lay hold of slight causes of umbrage, and to be haughty and intractable, when accidental or trifling occasions of dispute occur. Hence frequent

quent collisions, obstinate, envenomed and bloody contests. The nation, prompted by ill will and resentment, sometimes impels to war the government, contrary to the best calculations of policy. The government sometimes participates in the national propensity, and adopts through passion what reason would reject; at other times it makes the animosity of the nation subservient to projects of hostility instigated by pride, ambition and other sinister and pernicious motives. The peace often, sometimes perhaps the liberty, of nations has been the victim.

“ So likewise, a passionate attachment of one nation for another produces a variety of evils. Sympathy for the favourite nation, facilitating the illusion of an imaginary common interest, in cases where no real common interest exists, and infusing into one the enmities of the other, betrays the former into a participation in the quarrels and wars of the latter, without adequate inducement or justification. It leads also to concessions to the favourite nation of privileges denied to others, which is apt doubly to injure the nation making the concessions; by unnecessarily parting with what ought to have been retained: and by exciting jealousy, ill will, and a disposition to retaliate, in the parties from whom equal privileges are withheld: and it gives to ambitious, corrupted, or deluded citizens (who devote themselves to the favourite nation) facility to betray, or sacrifice the interests of their own country, without odium, sometimes even with popularity; gilding with the appearances of a virtuous sense of obligation a commendable deference for public opinion, or a laudable zeal for public good, the base or foolish compliances of ambition, corruption or infatuation.

“ As avenues to foreign influence in innumerable ways, such attachments are particularly alarming
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ing to the truly enlightened and independent patriot. How many opportunities do they afford to tamper with domestic factions, to practice the arts of seduction to mislead public opinion, to influence or awe the public councils! Such an attachment of a small or weak, towards a great and powerful nation, dooms the former to be the satellite of the latter.

“Against the insidious wiles of foreign influence (I conjure you to believe me, fellow citizens) the jealousy of a free people ought to be constantly awake; since history and experience prove that foreign influence is one of the most baneful foes of republican government. But that jealousy to be useful must be impartial; else it becomes the instrument of the very influence to be avoided, instead of a defence against it.—Excessive partiality for one foreign nation, and excessive dislike of another, cause those whom they actuate to see danger only on one side, and serve to veil and even to second the arts of influence on the other. Real patriots, who may resist the intrigues of the favourite, are liable to become suspected and odious; while its tools and dupes usurp the applause and confidence of the people, to surrender their interests.

“The great rule of conduct for us, in regard to foreign nations, is in extending our commercial relations, to have with them as little political connection as possible. So far as we have already formed engagements, let them be fulfilled with perfect good faith. Here let us stop.

“Europe has a set of primary interests, which to us have none, or a very remote relation. Hence she must be engaged in frequent controversies, the causes of which are essentially foreign to our concerns. Hence, therefore, it must be unwise in us to implicate ourselves, by artificial ties, in the ordinary

dinary vicissitudes of her politics, or the ordinary combinations and collisions of her friendships, or enmities.

“ Our detached and distant situation invites and enables us to pursue a different course. If we remain one people, under an efficient government, the period is not far off, when we may defy material injury from external annoyance ; when we may take such an attitude as will cause the neutrality, we may at any time resolve upon, to be scrupulously respected ; when belligerent powers, under the impossibility of making acquisitions upon us, will not lightly hazard the giving us provocation ; when we may choose peace or war, as our interest, guided by justice, shall counsel.

“ Why forego the advantages of such a peculiar situation ? Why quit our own to stand upon foreign ground ? Why, by interweaving our destiny with that of any part of Europe, entangle our peace and prosperity in the toils of European ambition, rivalship, interest, humour or caprice ?

“ 'Tis our true policy to steer clear of permanent alliances, with any portion of the foreign world ; so far, I mean, as we are now at liberty to do it ; for let me not be understood as capable of patronising infidelity to existing engagements. I hold the maxim no less applicable to public than to private affairs, that honesty is always the best policy. I repeat it, therefore, let those engagements be observed in their genuine sense. But in my opinion, it is unnecessary and would be unwise to extend them.

“ Taking care always to keep ourselves, by suitable establishments, on a respectable defensive posture, we may safely trust to temporary alliances for extraordinary emergencies.

“ Harmony, liberal intercourse with all nations, are recommended by policy, humanity, and interest.

rest. But even our commercial policy should hold an equal and impartial hand; neither seeking nor granting exclusive favours or preferences; consulting the natural course of things; diffusing and diversifying by gentle means the streams of commerce, but forcing nothing; establishing, with powers so disposed, in order to give trade a stable course, to define the rights of our merchants, and to enable the government to support them, conventional rules of intercourse, the best that present circumstances and mutual opinion will permit, but temporary and liable to be from time to time abandoned or varied, as experience and circumstances shall dictate; constantly keeping in view that it is folly in one nation to look for disinterested favours from another; that it must pay with a portion of its independence for whatever it may accept under that character; that by such acceptance, it may place itself in the condition of having given equivalents for nominal favours, and yet of being reproached with ingratitude for not giving more. There can be no greater error than to expect, or calculate upon real favours from nation to nation. 'Tis an illusion which experience must cure, which a just pride ought to discard.

“ In offering to you, my countrymen, these counsels of an old and affectionate friend, I dare not hope they will make the strong and lasting impression I could wish; that they will controul the usual current of the passions, or prevent our nation from running the course which has hitherto marked the destiny of nations. But if I may even flatter myself, that they may be productive of some partial benefit, some occasional good; that they may now and then recur to moderate the fury of party spirit, to warn against the mischiefs of foreign intrigue, to guard against the impostures of pretended patriotism; this hope will be a full recompence for the
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the solicitude for your welfare, by which they have been dictated.

“ How far in the discharge of my official duties, I have been guided by the principles which have been delineated, the public records and other evidences of my conduct must witness to you and the world. To myself the assurance of my own conscience is, that I have at least believed myself to be guided by them.

“ In relation to the still subsisting war in Europe, my proclamation of the 22d of April 1793 is the index to my plan. Sanctioned by your approving voice, and by that of your representatives in both Houses of Congress, the spirit of that measure has continually governed me ; uninfluenced by any attempts to deter or divert me from it.

“ After deliberate examination with the aid of the best lights I could obtain, I was well satisfied that our country, under all the circumstances of the case, had a right to take, and was bound in duty and interest to take a neutral position. Having taken it, I determined, as far as should depend upon me, to maintain it, with moderation, perseverance, and firmness.

“ The considerations which respect the right to hold this conduct, it is not necessary on this occasion to detail. I will only observe, that according to my understanding of the matter, that right, so far from being denied by any of the belligerent powers, has been virtually admitted by all.

“ The duty of holding a neutral conduct may be inferred, without any thing more, from the obligation which justice and humanity impose on every nation, in cases in which it is free to act, to maintain inviolate the relations of peace and amity towards other nations.

“ The inducements of interest for observing that conduct will best be referred to your own reflections

tions and experience. With me, a predominant motive has been to endeavour to gain time to our country to settle and mature its yet recent institutions, and to progress, without interruption, to that degree of strength and consistency, which is necessary to give it, humanly speaking, the command of its own fortunes.

“ Though in reviewing the incidents of my administration, I am unconscious of intentional error : I am nevertheless too sensible of my defects not to think it probable that I may have committed many errors. Whatever they may be, I fervently beseech the Almighty to avert or mitigate the evils to which they may tend. I shall also carry with me the hope that my country will never cease to view them with indulgence ; and that after forty-five years of my life dedicated to its service, with an upright zeal, the faults of incompetent abilities will be consigned to oblivion, as myself must soon be to the mansions of rest.

“ Relying on its kindness in this as in other things, and actuated by that fervent love towards it, which is so natural to a man, who views it in the native soil of himself and his progenitors for several generations ; I anticipate with pleasing expectation that retreat, in which I promise myself to realize, without alloy, the sweet enjoyments of partaking, in the midst of my fellow citizens, the benign influence of good laws under a free government—the ever favourite object of my heart, and the happy reward, as I trust, of our mutual cares, labours, and dangers.

“ G. WASHINGTON.”

“ UNITED STATES,
17th September, 1796.” }

NOW I shall insert several publications, which appeared in the papers during the months of October and November 1795, leaving my readers to determine what effect they must have produced on the mind of Washington, and whether they did not form one of the strongest reasons for his declining to serve as President a third time.

“ TO the PRESIDENT of the UNITED STATES.

“ SIR,

“ Few men are born great generals, and still fewer illustrious statesmen. The discipline of patient reflection and diligent observation can alone give perspicuity to the judgment, and vigour to the conduct. Pardon me, therefore, when I endeavour to mark the bounds of intellectual strength which nature and education have assigned you. It may be auspicious to your future, however nugatory on your past conduct, for you to compare the opinions which others entertain of you with your own partial predilections; and enable you to decide how far it may be prudent to substitute the will of the sovereign in the place of the wishes or inclinations of the servant.

“ You seem to have entered life with a mind unadorned by extraordinary features or uncommon capacity. Equal to the common duties of private life, it emitted none of those sparks of genius, however irregular and inconstant, which mark the dawn of future eminence. Fortuitous circumstances yielded you in early life a small measure of military eclat, which arose chiefly from the barren talents of your predecessor in the Indian warfare. For some time after this you reposed in unambitious ease till the chances of a revolution called you

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to the supreme command of the American army. An inoffensive neutrality had heretofore characterized your actions, and it was probably, because you were in principle neither a Briton nor an American, a whig nor a tory, that you slid into this important station. In no way was the spirit of party wounded, because no man could affirm to what party you belonged. The current of American gratitude soon set in upon all those men who hastened by their swords or their counsels the interesting crisis of a revolution. He who held the ostensible post of honour received the overflowing thanks of his country. The name of the commander in chief was known to all, while the names of many modest heroes were unknown, or soon forgotten. There has always existed an unfortunate disposition in mankind to heap on the head of one man, in military transactions, the accumulated honours due to an army of heroes; such may be stiled the American army, which had probably entered the Temple of Fame under any commander. Whatever doubts the judicious may have entertained of your military talents, which doubts will find their way to posterity, sustained by a cloud of proofs, they deemed this an improper time to give them publicity. The low passion of envy had hid her head, and does not seem once to have meditated revenge. Hence one voice called you, as a general, virtuous and wise.

“Precedents were not wanting to convert the laurel into the olive, and hence the indistinct voice of indiscriminate panegyric buzzed the splendid talents of a new born statesman. The army was declared to be the best school for civic virtues, and it was foreseen that the inspiration which atchieved a revolution by the sword, could with equal facility frame a constitution and guide an Empire! In the actions of our hero a new system of miracles

racles began to develope themselves, and the military despot formed to command, sunk into the executive magistrate of a free republic, ready to obey! With the constitution in one hand, and the word of God in the other, he swore to defend the one as he regarded the other. He swore to defend a system of republican government which abhors the insidious machinery of royal imposture. The first fruits of this solemn declaration were the seclusion of a monk, and the supercilious distance of a tyrant.

“Old habits were innovated upon, and he who had been more than others accustomed to indulge the manly walk and use the generous steed, is now never seen to practice either without exciting the remark of surprise. The concealing carriage drawn by supernumerary horses expresses the will of the President, and defines the loyal duty of the people. A reciprocity of intercourse is entirely annihilated. He consents to receive the visits of constraint, but wholly declines a return. In his presence, silence, with regard to political concerns, is exemplarily imposed and dutifully complied with. The ear of the President is only open to ministerial communications, which may be considered as the echoes of his own thoughts. Tell me, ye who have gathered wisdom from the varied walk, who have studied man in all his varieties with enthusiastic research, had ye been the men you now are, if surrendering yourselves to the gloom of seclusion and the flattery of sycophants emanating from yourselves, you had disdained the information of the enlightened, and the society of the virtuous? Had your toils received the stamp of wisdom, or the award of virtue? Had you lived beloved of your fellow-men, and died amidst the regrets of your country?

“He who accepts a common post of confidence, must carry integrity and knowledge into the dis-
 VOL. IV. D d charge

charge of its duties. He must possess an intimate acquaintance with the desires and interests of those whom he serves. For this purpose he must mingle thoughts with thoughts, he must yield the severity of reflection to the freedom of unsuspecting confidence. He must endeavour, by an ingenuous and intelligent deportment, to mark the identity of his own, with their interest.

“ Are these the traits of unaffected virtue ? Do they command our esteem ? And shall a President of a free republic unblushingly set them all at defiance ? Shall the man, who should in all things think and feel with the people, whose mind should be the focus of the wills of converging millions, be the first to burst the natural ties of benevolence and the national bands of gratitude ? Lost to an enlightened sense of his own happiness, shall he blast it for ever by despising the voice of *his creator* ?

“ When, Sir, your country called you to honourable preferment, it was not because she thought you the wisest of her sons. She knew that nature had played the miser when she gave you birth ; and that education had not been lavish in her favours. She considered, however, the moderation of your talents as the shield of your virtue ; and confided to your diffidence what she would not have trusted to the claims of superior endowments. It was said, that if the first magistrate possessed a sound judgment, without splendid talents, he would be less subject to the disease of ambition, than with splendid talents unchecked by a sound judgment : that in the first instance he would be the faithful organ of the public sentiment ; whereas, in the last, he might give himself up to the immoderate lust of power. This view of human nature was but half true. Deeper research would have foreseen the result of experience, and have convinced us that the nominal

nominal depository of power, however dull his own apprehension, is sure to be surrounded by beings alive to the high prerogatives of unlimited authority. It would have been foreseen that a wicked mind delights in national misfortunes, that a weak mind yields to the wicked suggestions of others; that virtue, to be successful on the political scene, must be inseparable from sense.

“ VALERIUS.”

“ *Philadelphia,* }
21. Oct. 1795.” }

“ *To Oliver Wolcott, Esq. late Comptroller, now
Secretary of the Treasury of the United States.*

“ SIR,

“ When a man who has been advanced from an inferior to a superior station in the government, and called upon to execute a high and responsible public office, deliberately violates every obligation of duty, overleaps the barriers of the constitution, and breaks down the fences of the law, contemning and despising every principle which the people have established for the security of their rights and to restrain the arbitrary encroachments of power, what, I ask, Sir, is the degree of guilt of such a man? And to you, is the enquiry particularly addressed, for as Nathan said unto David, ‘ *Thou art the man;*’ and by your own acts shall you be condemned.

“ Attend then, Sir, to the following particulars and state of facts.

“ On the 30th day of April 1789, the President of the United States qualified into office and took the following oath: “ I do solemnly swear that

" I will faithfully execute the office of President
 " of the United States; and will to the best of my
 " ability, preserve, protect and defend the Consti-
 " tution of the United States."

" By a clause in the 1st section of the 2d article
 of the Constitution, it is declared, " that the Pre-
 " sident shall, *at stated times*, receive, for his ser-
 " vices, a compensation, which shall neither be
 " increased nor diminished during the period for
 " which he shall have been elected, and he shall
 " not receive, within that period, any other emo-
 " lument from the United States, or any of
 " them."

" By the 3d section of the same article it is
 directed, " that the President of the United States
 " shall take care that the laws be faithfully exe-
 " cuted."

" By a clause in the 9th section of the first arti-
 cle it is declared, " that no money shall be drawn
 " from the Treasury, but in consequence of ap-
 " propriations made by law."

" By the act of Congress to establish the Treas-
 ury department, passed the 2d of September 1789,
 it is made the duty of the Secretary of the Treas-
 ury, " to grant under the limitations therein esta-
 " blished, or thereafter to be established, all war-
 " rants for money to be issued from the Treasury
 " *in pursuance of appropriations by law.*"

" By the same act it is made the duty of the
 Comptroller of the Treasury, " to countersign
 " all warrants drawn by the Secretary of the Treas-
 ury *which shall be warranted by law.*"

" By the act of Congress, supplemental to the
 act establishing the Treasury department, passed the
 3d day of March 1791, it is directed that every
 officer in the said department shall take an oath
 " well and faithfully to execute the trust committed
 " to him."

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“ By the act of Congress for allowing a compensation to the President, passed the 24th of September 1789, there is allowed to the President *at the rate of 25,000 dollars per annum, for his services*, to commence with the time of entering on the duties of his office, to continue as long as he should remain in office, and to be paid *quarterly* out of the Treasury of the United States.

“ By an annual act of Congress, provision is made for the President's compensation by a specific appropriation of the sum of 25,000 dollars and no more.

“ Between the 30th of April 1789, the day on which the President qualified into office and the 30th of April 1790, which completed the first year of his Presidency, he drew by warrants from the late Secretary of the Treasury, countersigned by the Comptroller, the sum of 25,000 dollars and no more.

“ Between the 30th of April 1790 and the 30th of April 1791, being the second year of his service, the President drew by like warrants the sum of 30,150 dollars, being an excess beyond annual compensation made by law and the appropriation thereof by Congress of 5,150 dollars.

“ Between the 30th of April 1791 and the 30th of April 1792, being the third year of his service, the President drew by like warrants the sum of 24,000 dollars, which, being 1000 dollars less than his annual compensation, reduced the excess that he received the year before to 4,150 dollars.

“ Between the 30th of April 1792 and the 30th of April 1793, being the fourth year of his service, the President drew by like warrants the sum of 26,000 dollars, which again made up the excess of his second year's compensation, to 5,150 dollars more than the law allows.

" On the 4th of March 1793, when the first term of years for which the President was elected into office expired, he had drawn from the public Treasury by warrants from the late Secretary of the Treasury, countersigned by the Comptroller, the sum of 1037 dollars beyond the compensation allowed him by law, estimating from the day he qualified into office.

" The evidence of the sums drawn, and of the truth of the facts here stated, will be seen in the official reports made to Congress of the annual receipts and expenditures of the public monies, signed by you as Comptroller of the Treasury, and which have been published for the information of the people.

" But, Sir, as if it had been determined by the late Secretary of the Treasury, and yourself as Comptroller, to set at defiance all law and authority, and to exhibit the completest evidence of servile submission and compliance with the lawless will and pleasure of a President, attend to the following facts:

" On the 4th of March 1793, the President qualified into office, and commenced the second term of four years for which he was re-elected.

" On the 18th February 1793, Congress passed an act providing " that from and after the 3d day
 " of March in the present year (1793) the compensation of the President of the United States shall
 " be *at the rate of 25,000 dollars per annum, in full*
 " *for his services, to be paid* QUARTER YEARLY
 " *at the Treasury.*"

" Between the 4th day of March 1793, and the 4th day of June following, being the first quarter after the passing of the last mentioned act, there was paid to the President out of the public Treasury, by warrants from the late Secretary of the Treasury,

sure, countersigned by you as Comptroller, the sum of eleven thousand dollars, being an excess of 4750 dollars in one quarter beyond the compensation allowed by law, and making at the same rate a compensation of 44,000 dollars *per annum* instead of the 25,000 dollars fixed by Congress.

“ Upon you, Sir, the late Secretary of the Treasury, and the President, must rest the responsibility of these extraordinary outrages upon the laws and constitution of our country; since it remains to be seen how far the independent and impartial justice of the national legislature will be exercised in punishment of the offence already committed, as well as to prevent the repetition of it hereafter. In vain, Sir, are the numerous prohibitions of the Constitution and of the laws; in vain, Sir, are all the obligations of oaths and duty, and in vain will be all future precautions of the legislature to guard the chastity of the public treasury from lawless violation and abuse, if one man can exalt himself above the law, and with impunity disregard those high restraints which the people have ordained.

“ Is there any other man in the government of the United States who would have dared to ask, or to whom you and your predecessor in office would have presumed to grant the like favour?

“ Is it or is it not a small favour to receive 4750 dollars of the public money in one quarter beyond the amount of legal salary, and in addition to the former excess of 1037 dollars, already in hand and not refunded?

“ If the precedent which this donation from the Treasury furnishes, were to be followed in favour of other public officers, how many hundred thousand dollars *per annum* would thus be lawlessly taken from the public Treasury and saddled upon the
 people?

people? Was it or was it not the duty of the late Secretary of the Treasury and of yourself as Comptroller, to have checked and restrained the abuse of power that has been stated, and why, instead of doing so, did you become, obedient like, the servile and submissive instruments of it?

"Can the people feel respect for the constituted authorities of their country, when those very constituted authorities are the first to trample upon the laws and constitution of their country?"

"What will posterity say to the man who has acted in the manner I have stated, after having thus solemnly addressed the legislature of his country:

"When I was first honoured with a call into the service of my country, then on the eve of an arduous struggle for its liberties, the light in which I contemplated my duty required that I should renounce every pecuniary compensation. From this resolution I have in no instance departed; and being still under the impressions which produced it, I must decline as inapplicable to myself any share in the personal emoluments which may be indispensably included in a permanent provision for the executive department, and must accordingly pray that the pecuniary estimates for the station in which I am placed, may, during my continuance in it, be limited to such actual expenditures as the public good may be thought to require*." Will not the world be led to conclude, that the mask of political hypocrisy has been alike worn by a CÆSAR, a CROMWELL, and a WASHINGTON?

"A CALM OBSERVER."

"*Philadelphia,* }
23 Oct. 1795." }

* This extract is taken from his first speech to the Congress.

“ TO the EDITOR of the AURORA.

“ MR. BACHE,

“ I have read in your paper of the 23d inst. an indecent invective addressed to me under the signature of “ A Calm Observer,” the object of which is to impress an opinion on the public mind, that the President has received from the Treasury greater sums than were authorized by law. As connected with the main design of calumniating the Executive, the writer has, however, adduced against my predecessor and myself, the serious charges—of having violated the Constitution of the United States, by issuing monies for which there was no appropriation—of having violated the law establishing the Treasury Department, which directs that no warrants on the Treasurer shall be signed by the Secretary, or countersigned by the Comptroller, unless pursuant to some appropriation—of having violated the oath prescribed for the officers of the Treasury.

“ In respect to the President, it is proper to say, that it has been well understood at the Treasury, that the monies appropriated for his compensation were applied *solely* to defray the expenses of his household, of which a regular account has been constantly kept by his private secretary. The advances from the Treasury have therefore been uniformly made on the *application* and in the *name* of some one of the private secretaries, except in a single instance lately, when the present secretary was absent. The *special order* of the President for monies to defray the current expenses of his household, has never been deemed necessary.

“ If

" If, therefore, there has been an error in advancing monies, the President is not responsible for it ; he is merely accountable, in a pecuniary view, for the act of his agent ; as a matter affecting personal character, he is in no manner concerned.

" The responsibility for whatever is complained of by the " *Calm Observer*," therefore rests entirely upon the Treasury Department ; and I readily assume it to myself. At the same time I affirm, notwithstanding what is asserted to the contrary, that not one dollar has been advanced at any time for which there was not an existing appropriation by law ; and it is my belief, that nothing in the least degree contrary to law has been practised in respect to the time and manner of making the advances.

" Candid men will believe this to be a sincere declaration when they are told, that the course of conduct which is now censured, has prevailed ever since the Treasury Department was established, and that the accounts which exhibit the evidence of this conduct, have been regularly laid before Congress, and have been printed and disseminated throughout the United States. It is not credible that the officers of the Treasury have knowingly violated the law, and at the same time have published the evidence of their guilt.

" Mr. Bache, such has been the virulence of the attacks in your paper against public measures, and the characters of men, who, until they held public appointments, were thought to deserve the confidence of their fellow citizens, that I believe a common opinion prevails, that some decisive explanation is necessary : that it is time it was known whether the public officers deserve all, or any part of the abuse which you publish ; or, whether there exists a confederacy whose nefarious object it is, by
calumny

calumny and misrepresentations, to induce the people to believe, that those who manage their public concerns, are utterly destitute of integrity. I accede to this opinion—I invite the explanation as it respects myself—I wish that it may embrace the accusers of the government:—I await the consequences of the charges which you have published, that I have violated the constitution and laws of my country, and the oath of office which I have taken. I shall not avoid an investigation of my public conduct—and I hope not long to regret that slander can be published in your paper with impunity.

“ OLIV. WOLCOTT.”

“ *Philadelphia, Oct. 24, 1795.*”

“ TO the EDITOR of the AURORA.

“ SIR,

“ The public mind has undergone a revolution, and for the honour of human nature it was devoutly to be wished. Had the meridian blaze of the President’s popularity continued much longer, the lamp of American liberty would have been extinguished for ever. Happily for humanity a change has taken place before it was too late, and the consecrated ermine of presidential chastity seems too foul for time itself to bleach. The late election in the city and county of Philadelphia, furnishes an indubitable evidence of the decline of the President, for the President of one of the “ *self-created*” societies that he denounced, is returned as a representative to the next legislature, and the vice-president
of

of the same society had the suffrages of near *eleven hundred* independent freemen of Philadelphia. Hitherto the name of Washington was fatal to the popularity of any man against whom it was directed ; but now it is as harmless as John O'Nookes or Tom O'Stiles. Indeed, the time is fast approaching when to be an opposer of the President will be the best passport to public favour, and the best recommendation of civic virtue. The silence imposed upon the press by his name had nearly proved fatal to our liberties ; for neither the constitution nor the laws have been viewed but as ministering to his own will and his own gratification. To what the despotism which he has exercised would have led us is not difficult to imagine ; for when even the public treasury was at his disposal, from which he could draw money contrary to law, and to what amount he pleased, we may reasonably conclude that as he progressed in age, from the many examples before us, he might finally have become a finished Dionysius.

“When a man acquires a character for imaginary qualities, it is almost impossible that it should remain long. Some circumstance or other will turn up in the revolution of time, which will unmask him. The mantle of patriotism may serve for a while, to cover the designs of ambition, and the veil of wisdom, to hide the defects of the mind : but there is an intrinsic worth in both ; which, like the precious metals, must finally be detected from counterfeit. A mysterious carriage, and a mock dignity, may impose upon the world for a time. They may lead to a belief that greatness is concealed beneath them ; but there are only times and seasons for such imposture, as well as for their detection. The circle of majesty which the President drew around him, the distance, the stateliness, the superiority

riority which he assumed, made him appear like some objects that are seen best at a distance. As he was inaccessible to all but his ministers, and a few sycophants, the world could not judge of him, but from their report; and as courtiers ever proclaim the reigning king to be the most wise and puissant upon earth, the President has been declared nature's finished work. The people of America, from a weakness, rather amiable than censurable, adopted the opinion, and, like the high priest of the Jews, he was supposed without a blemish. At this moment, auspicious for liberty, but inauspicious for himself, inflated with his own consequence, he produced the treaty. Calculating upon his own omnipotence, and dazzled with the opinion of his own superlative virtues, he, no doubt, believed that the name of Washington would consecrate any thing, and that natural and constitutional right would fall prostrate at his word. It was an evil hour that begat such a conceit; for the treaty dissolved the spell, and that wisdom which appeared so brilliant *at a distance*, and that patriotism which shone so bright, through the darkness which surrounded it, were found to be folly and tyranny. Neither stateliness nor professions of purity can deceive any longer. The real character of the man is known; and in making a British tyrant his "*great, good, and dear friend*," and abandoning and deceiving a tried friend and ally, he has forfeited the confidence and the affections of the real patriots of America.

"PITTACHUS."

"*Philadelphia,* }
Oct. 24, 1795." }

"*To.*"

To Oliver Wolcott, Esq. late Comptroller, now Secretary of the Treasury of the United States.

SIR,

“The Calm Observer desires to claim the benefit of your testimony with the public, that he was neither party, or privy to the defence you have exhibited before them. Whatever confession, the cunning or contrivance of a professed enemy, had such a man been one of your advisers, might have counselled you to make, so complete an acknowledgement of guilt could not have been expected, as the result of your own deliberate act, after long and previous consultation with the President, had not conviction forced it.

“Had you, Sir, commenced your defence, under the influence of the just reflection, that evasion belongs only to a bad cause, and that the language of indecent invective is the usual resort of conscious guilt, you had spared yourself all the preliminary remarks, with which you introduce yourself to the public.

“The Calm Observer exhibited a direct charge against you, which, it is true, equally involves the late Secretary of the Treasury and the President, of having violated the laws and constitution of your country—But he did not as you have done, deal in assertion without proof. His charge was accompanied by a citation of the various clauses of the constitution, and of the laws, which had been violated, and by a reference to your own official acts and reports, to prove by dates, sums, and amount, every fact there stated.—You, Sir, have not, in a single instance, excepted to, denied, or controverted those facts,

facts, as, in truth, you could not; they therefore stand fully acknowledged and admitted, on your part, before the public.

“Your defence, Sir, is a flimsy attempt at an apology for misconduct, fraught with contradiction and evasion. It would disgrace a tyro of the schools, and reflects nothing but shame and dishonour on yourself and all concerned. The honour of the invidious endeavour, to place in front of a public accusation against the President, his private Secretaries, in order that they may receive the full weight of public censure, on his behalf, has been reserved for you, and is in perfect character with all your conduct in this business.

“The idle tale about the President’s *household expenses* is wholly inapplicable to a just defence, and directly in the face of the *Constitution* and the laws; neither of which say one word about *expenses*. *They* have fixed a compensation for *services*, at the rate of 25,000 dollars *per annum*, payable at *stated times*, that is, *quarter yearly*. *They* have forbidden the President to receive *any increase* of that compensation, or *other emolument*, *within the period*, for which he was elected—And an annual act of Congress appropriates, for payment of the President’s compensation, the sum of 25,000 dollars in each year, and no more. Upon these authorities, I submit the following propositions to the opinion of any legal counsel within the United States:

“1st, If the President has received in any one quarter, more than at the rate of 25,000 dollars *per annum*, unless it included some arrearage due him for a preceding quarter, has he not violated the Laws and Constitution of his country?

“2dly, If the President has received in any one year, more than 25,000 dollars, unless it included

an arrearage due him for a preceding year, has he not violated the Laws and Constitution of his country ?

“ 3dly, If the President has received, within the period of four years, for which he was first elected, more than at the rate of 25,000 dollars *per annum*, computing from the time of entering on the duties of his office, has he not violated the Laws and Constitution of his country ?

“ I presume, Sir, that you have admitted the truth of the fact, that the President has so received more than he was intitled to, in each of the preceding instances.

“ And now, Sir, for your novel doctrine of agency and responsibility—you say, that the advances from the Treasury have been uniformly made on the *application*, and in the name of one of the *private Secretaries*, and without the *special order* of the President :—And you thence conclude, “ that if *there has been an error* in advancing monies, *the President* is not responsible for it ; he is merely accountable, in a pecuniary view, for the act of his agent ; as a matter affecting personal character, he is, in no manner concerned.” In what relation then, Sir, has the President stood in this business ; as a mere private citizen, or as President of the United States ? Is he not responsible in both characters ; as a private citizen, to refund to the public, whatever monies he has received in his public character, more than he was legally entitled to ; as President of the United States, in his personal and public character, for having, in so receiving, violated the laws and constitution of his country ? In what manner does his acting by an agent vary the question ? That agent received the money *on his behalf, to his use*, and in virtue of *some* authority from the President so to do.

“ As

“ As unavailing, too, Sir, is the merit of your claim to the entire responsibility of this business upon the Treasury Department, which *you so readily assume*.—There have been three actors in it—the President of the United States, the late Secretary of the Treasury, and yourself as Comptroller. You are all three equally amenable, in your several public characters, for your respective parts therein contrary to the laws and constitution of your country. The President was the receiver, the late Secretary of the Treasury, and yourself, the payers; neither, therefore, can assume an entire responsibility, in exoneration of the other.

“ Your affirmation, Sir, that not one dollar has been advanced, at any time, for which there was not an existing appropriation by law, is an evasion unworthy of you; it is no more than saying, that all the money in the Treasury is covered by legal appropriations. But a fair application of what you affirm, more strongly confirms your guilt; since, if there be not, at any time, any money in the Treasury, but what is appropriated by law to some given object; and you have, at any time, taken money not appropriated to the payment of the President's compensation, and advanced it on account of such compensation, you have, in so doing, violated an appropriation by Congress; and this you have not pretended to say, has not been done.

“ Your concluding sentence, being an apostrophe to Mr. BACHE, on the conduct of his paper, would pass wholly unnoticed by me, were it not to expose the hypocritical cant of alarm and danger to the government, and the solemn farce of denominating yourself and your coadjutors in this business *the government*. What, Sir! Cannot one, two, or three public officers be detected and exposed, for a violation of the laws and constitution of their country,

but the government is attacked, the government is in danger, and the constitution is to be destroyed? No, Sir; you well know, that, in this case, the constitution is supported, the cause of good government maintained; and that the conduct of the *Calm Observer* will receive the approbation of all good citizens.

" Upon the whole, Sir, I cheerfully appeal to an enlightened public, to decide between you and me, on which side lie the truth, reason, and law of the case, and on which side, sophistry and evasion.

" A CALM OBSERVER."

" *Philadelphia*, 25 Oct. 1795."

" MR. BACHE,

" Lest it should be thought possible by any person that my declaration, published in your paper of the 26th instant, contained any thing like " evasion," an imputation which more than any other I am desirous to refute, I now think proper to aver most explicitly, that the estimates which have been presented to Congress, and which they have sanctioned by appropriations, contain specific sums for the compensation of the President, which have at no time been exceeded. Therefore even if the estimates were to be considered as part of the law, and the advances were to be tested by the specific sums therein stated, still my assertion would be true, that not one dollar has been at any time advanced for the use of the President for which there was not an existing appropriation. I cannot be mistaken in this assertion; it appears from the records of the Treasury.

" Let

“Let then this undeniable fact be admitted, which though plainly set forth in my former publication, has been most uncandidly perverted, and then let any man whose mind is not darkened by malignity reply to the questions proposed yesterday by the “Calm Observer.”

“OLIV. WOLCOTT.”

“October 28, 1795.”

“To Oliver Wolcott, Esq. late Comptroller, now Secretary of the Treasury of the United States.

“SIR,

“I am a man, who is thoroughly persuaded, that, let an accusation against a public officer be what it may, he ought not to be condemned, until he is fully heard. The remarks, therefore, of a Calm Observer, in Mr. Bache’s paper of the 23d of this month, although they were so forcibly and plainly stated, did not seduce me from my determination to keep my mind perfectly open. I confess, however, I was surprised, that on a question of simple account, one of the evening papers of the next day, did not bring forth a copy from the Treasury books, which, without any equivocation, must at once pronounce the truth in all its extent. But I imputed this omission to some accident.

“Your publication in Mr. Bache’s paper of Monday, although it has increased my astonishment, cannot be fully credited by me, if the meaning of your defence shall be, as I understand it; and unless upon a compleat view of the President’s accounts up to the day, when the alarm was given

to you, which you are bound to produce, the *Calm Observer* shall stand justified.

“ My astonishment has arisen from the following causes:

“ You represent the serious charges against you to be, a violation of the Constitution, the law establishing the Treasury Department, and your oath. Your outset is too ambiguous, and your enemies may well think that you have quitted the precision, which the *Calm Observer* uses, to go in quest of general expressions, which allow a greater latitude for loose play. He speaks in pointed terms thus:—Between the 30th April 1790 and 30th April 1791, the President drew from the Treasury 30,150 dollars, instead of 25,000 dollars; that is, 5,150 dollars more than the compensation allowed by law;—that the next year ending on the 30th April 1792, did not replace this excess of drawing in the treasury, but left the President still in debt 4,150 dollars;—that on the 4th March 1793, being the last day of General Washington being President under his original election, he was in arrears 1037 dollars, over the stipend which he was to receive by law;—that by the 30th April 1793, he had come back to his old excess of 5,150 dollars;—and that in one single quarter, including the time between the 4th March and 30th April 1793, he drew 4750 dollars over his quarter's salary, while he had in hand the additional sum of 1037;—making in the whole 5,787 dollars.

“ Now every candid man must think, that those insinuations ought to be answered by figures, and authenticated copies from your books, and not by general assertions.

“ I doubt, whether I understand you; when you speak of the monies appropriated for the President's compensation, being applied solely to defray the expenses of his household. It is not presumable, that

that by this it is intended, that he may spend as much as he pleases over his salary, provided he spends it on his household. This would be too absurd; although an idea, something like it, can be traced up to the Treasury Department. But the object is manifestly to pave the way for imputing an impropriety to the President's private Secretaries. I have full as good an opinion of the President, as you can have; and, from all accounts, his private Secretaries have been, and are as virtuous as any men. I have one strong reason for not believing that the President approves of your throwing the blame upon them. It is said, that there is no person, who watches over the expenditure of his money, and examines accounts more strictly than he does: and, consequently, it will be supposed, that he has always known, that he had overdrawn, until you shall be authorized to say the contrary from him, or his Secretaries.

“Supposing, that the President has been as negligent as you say; how are you to be excused for letting him have sums of money over his salary? There are other public officers, as able to pay, perhaps, as he is; but they could not obtain a farthing over their quarter's salary. You are aware, that this mode of reasoning will not hold you out, and betake yourself to affirm, “that not one dollar has been advanced, at any time, for which there was not an existing appropriation by law; and it is your belief, that nothing in the least degree contrary to law has been practised, in respect to the time and manner of making the advances. Now, Sir, I cannot, as a citizen, satisfy myself with this kind of answer to such precise accusations, before you inform the public plainly and distinctly upon these points: Has no money been ever paid out of the Treasury to the President, his private Secretaries, or for his benefit, on any given day, over and

above what was actually due to him, on that day ? For example ; if he had died or resigned on the 30th April 1791, or on the 30th April 1792 ; or had ceased to be President, on the 4th March 1793, by refusing to accept his re-election ; or had died or resigned on the 30th April, or 4th June 1793 ; can you put your hand on your heart and declare, that General Washington or his estate would have had nothing to refund to the United States ?

“ I should have been glad if you had been more particular in telling us, what you mean by there being an existing appropriation by law for every dollar which has been advanced. Do you mean, that the President has never overdrawn quarterly or yearly, more than at the rate of 25,000 dollars *per annum* ? Or do you mean, that the appropriation of 25,000 dollars *per annum*, to be paid quarterly, permitted you to advance the whole, or any part of that sum, on the first day, or any other day of the quarter, before it was earned ? Or what did you mean ?

“ The public will not rest contented with the reply of a public officer, when he is accused of mal-practices, who shall hope for an apology in only saying, that *it is his belief*, that nothing in the least degree contrary to law has been practised. The reason which you give why your belief is to be believed, is, that the Treasury accounts have been published by the Treasury. The Constitution commands the publication ; The law commands the publication : The Treasurer would be answerable for the money out of his own pocket, if he did not insert it in his accounts ; and it could not be suppressed without a combination of four or five public officers.

“ I do not determine on the degree of impropriety or criminality of this affair ; and I hardly suppose that you will venture upon a suit at law against Mr. Bache. But as your threat of a prosecution is worded, it has the appearance of being a
government

government act. I would fain hope that the President never saw your piece before its publication ; but I cannot believe, without knowing the contrary, that he would sally forth, without taking advice from his privy counsellors. If your letter be a joint production, I shall exclaim, " Lord have mercy upon you ! ! ! "

" ONE OF THE PEOPLE."

" *October 26, 1795.*"

" *To Oliver Wolcott, Esq. late Comptroller, now Secretary of the Treasury of the United States.*

" SIR,

" A very short statement will be sufficient to expose the new evasion you are guilty of in a second attempt to justify against the charges of the CALM OBSERVER.

" On the 3d day of March 1793, the day on which the first term of four years for which the President was elected into office expired, he had received 1037 dollars on account of compensation *more than the law allows*, estimating from the day he entered on the duties of his office, to wit, the 30th of April 1789. Now, Sir, let me ask whether the acts of appropriation by Congress justified the payment of this excess ; and if they did not, whether the appropriation has not been violated, and what becomes of your repeated declarations, " that not one " dollar has been *at any time* advanced for the use " of the President for which there was not an *existing* appropriation."

" You surely, Sir, do not mean to insinuate, that if Congress at any time make an appropriation for any given object, for a greater amount than that object can *legally* demand or claim, the officers of the Treasury are justified in paying the whole sum,

so appropriated to that given object. For instance, Sir, you will not pretend to say that the President's whole salary of 25,000 dollars can be paid him, on the first day, or within the first quarter, of his year of service ; or that if it were so paid him, and he was immediately thereafter either to die or resign, the appropriation by Congress would not in such case be violated. Let me then ask you to point out what difference there is between the case of death and resignation, and the case of the expiration of the President's first term of service before stated, which can exonerate you from the charge of having violated the appropriation laws of Congress in favour of the President, by paying him more money than he was legally entitled to for his first term of service.

“ A CALM OBSERVER.”

“ *Philadelphia, 29th Oct. 1795.*”

“ From the (N. Y.) MINERVA *.

“ The charges of a Calm Observer against the President, and the late and present Secretaries of the Treasury, are of a high nature, and demand notice. If these officers of government have violated the laws and constitution of our country, they are amenable to justice, and every good citizen will say, *let justice be done.*

“ By the imperious tone assumed by this abusive writer, and his repeated confident assertions, one would be led to believe him standing on the high ground of truth ; yet, on scrutiny, his charges will be found to be *sound without sense*—assertions with-

* This article was imputed to Mr. Hamilton, the late Secretary of the Treasury.

out proof, or to be explained away by a fair, short, and simple statement of the regular mode of transacting business in the Treasury Department.—The charges of *violation of oaths, law, and constitution*, by our high executive characters will end, like other jacobinical bugbears, *in smoke*.

“ We leave to the persons accused, and to Congress, a full examination of this business—all we shall do in this paper, will be to make the following short statement of facts, to obviate the undue impressions which the charges of the *Calm Observer* are calculated to make on a first reading.

“ Whenever an appropriation of money has been made by a law of Congress, it has been a constant practice with the officers of the Treasury to *advance* money on that appropriation, whenever it was necessary for the public service.—Thus money has been advanced to the officer of government, and for military services and supplies, and even to members of Congress, at the opening of a session. Thus, when Congress first meet, a warrant is issued, on application, to supply the Vice-President, for the senators, and the Speaker of the House of Representatives, for the members, with a sum of money to defray their expenses which are daily accruing. Thus ten, fifteen, or twenty thousand dollars are drawn from the Treasury and paid to the members of Congress, *before* it has strictly become due, that is, before their services are rendered. This is a constant practice, and no person ever called in question the legality of it. Indeed it would be a hard case, that men who are in public service, should be compelled to advance large sums of their own money to defray weekly and daily expenses, or borrow of banks or private persons.—Yet this must be the case unless money is advanced from the Treasury. And no inconvenience can ensue to the public from such advance, as the money is in the Treasury and is appropriated to that *specific purpose*.

It

It is of no consequence to the public, whether the money is drawn from the Treasury at the *beginning* or *end of a quarter*.

"A quarter's salary of the President is 6250 dollars. Now by the Observer's own statement, the President has not been in advance more than 5150 dollars at any time, if I understand him; which is less than he has a right to draw from the Treasury every quarter.

"No man will say, that when money is in the Treasury, appropriated for the specific object of supporting the President's household, that he shall not be permitted to draw forth money at the *beginning of the quarter*, but shall advance five or six thousand dollars of his *own money* to support his family, while he is in the *public service*. It would be unreasonable to require this of an *old patriot* who has served his country faithfully, more than twenty years, *without a farthing of compensation*; especially as every member of Congress is indulged in similar advances of money, at the opening of every session.

"This general statement, until the persons accused shall enter into a full detail, will serve to show the baseness of the Calm Observer's charges, and obviate, in a great measure, the effect of his designs."

REMARKS ON THE ABOVE.

"The charges of the CALM OBSERVER, have here been attempted to be obviated by sophistry and evasion;—*falsehood* at New York is called in aid, by the advocates of presidential infallibility. Here some trifling circumstances were pleaded in extenuation; but there the defence presents a bolder front, and the justice of the country is challenged,

lenged, if the laws and constitution have been violated.

“ Those laws and that constitution have been violated, and if the constituted authorities of our country should slumber over those violations; yet public indignation and contempt, and the stings of conscience will pursue the guilty.

“ Upon what is called, in the piece above quoted from the *Minerva*, “ a statement of *facts*,” the following observations are submitted, which will shew it to be nothing but a string of *falsehoods*.

“ If it were true, that it is the practice at the Treasury to pay to officers their salaries before the service is rendered, the practice would still remain unauthorized by law or reason. But it is denied that such has been the general practice; and if it has prevailed at all, its not having prevailed *universally* adds to the degree of guilt; for then the Treasury, instead of dispensing the public monies with an equal and legal hand has been a sink of intrigue and favouritism.

“ It is *not true*, that the members of Congress are paid *any part* of their compensation before it has *strictly* become due. For the convenience of the Treasury Department, it has been the practice at the beginning of each session to give the Speaker of the House and President of the Senate a credit at the Bank; out of which, during the course of the session, the members receive part of their compensation *as they earn it, but never one cent in advance*, and at the close of the session their balance is paid them, for which their receipt is preserved in the Treasury. Thus the practice of the legislature cannot be cited as an excuse for the President's mal-conduct.

“ The records can shew a letter from Mr. O. Wolcott, expressly certifying, that it was not the practice of the members of the legislature to draw their
their

their compensation *in advance* ; but that the contrary practice *invariably* prevailed. Will the New York paragraphist dispute the authority? If he does other testimony may be produced.

“ If the above statement is correct, and the phalanx of presidential sycophants are challenged to disprove it ; then the whole fabric of the defence in the *Minerva* falls to the ground, and the high charges against the President stand unanswered.

“ The writer in the *Minerva*, sensible of the weakness of the cause, attempts to call the feelings and passions of his readers in aid: We are told that Mr. G. Washington has served his country twenty years without a compensation. Before the late discovery, the world was led to believe that as President he received no compensation ; they are now permitted to suspect that his disinterestedness in his military capacity is of the same stamp, at least until his account during the war is exhibited and unequivocally proves the contrary.”

“ To the EDITOR of the AURORA.

“ SIR,

“ Heavy charges have been made against the President, the Secretary and Comptroller of the Treasury, and these charges have not been refuted. An attempt at an *extenuation*, not justification, has been made by the Secretary of the Treasury ; but he has proved the most unfortunate advocate in the world, for he has made the thing ten times worse. Had he been wholly silent on the subject, ingenuity might have worked out some kind of excuse for him ; but his public appearance has robbed his friends of even a pretext in his behalf. Such a full
confession

confession of a fact under an endeavour to explain it away, while it argues the imbecility of the man, is at the same time a serious lesson to him, that honesty is the best policy.

“ According to the doctrine attempted to be set up by the Secretary, the moment an appropriation is made, every officer in the government may with propriety put his hand into the public Treasury and draw out his whole year’s salary, this has been the Treasury practice respecting the President’s salary, and if it is right with respect to him, it must be equally so with respect to every officer in the government. But the President has gone even further than this. Calculating upon the presidency as *an estate in tail*, he has anticipated the salary of another year, and of even a new term of office. How many officers of the government are indebted to the Treasury besides the President? How many are allowed to anticipate their salaries? The law was made for all, and if any exception had been made by the executive, he ought to have been the last to benefit by it. The *disinterestedness* of his patriotism should, at least, have kept him from appropriating more to himself than the law allowed, and as he declared *a salary* inapplicable to himself, he should not have seized upon it with the eager avarice of a miser. How can “*the Saviour of his Country*” now talk of his sacrifices, when he has exacted more than the last farthing to which a President is legally entitled!

“ But upon what principle of right, or upon what rule of common usage, is this practice which prevails at the Treasury, with respect to the President, founded? Is it just that a man should be paid before he earns his wages? Is it common to do so? There is neither justice, nor usage to sanction it; for he is supposed the best paymaster who pays immediately *after* his business is transacted; there being but two bad paymasters, he who pays beforehand, and he who never pays at all. Why are

those men who most need the indulgence of the Treasury, excluded from the privileges granted to the President? The clerks in the public office may receive their salaries on the very day their *quarters* become due, but not one day before; whence this distinction when the law makes none, and when the *appropriation* is made for all?

“ It is said to be a rule with Congress to anticipate the wages of its members, but this is wholly unfounded; for although a warrant issues to the Speaker and to the Vice President, for a given sum at the beginning of each session, yet this has never been applied but to pay the *mileage*, and to compensate the members *after* their wages had become due—The Speaker's accounts will establish the truth of this assertion.

“ But to what would a practice of this sort lead if it were general, and if it is just in a degree it is so in its fullest latitude. Suppose all the officers of government from the President down to the door-keeper were to anticipate their salaries according to the presidential mode, an appropriation is made for their salaries; suppose a number of them should die, a number become bankrupts, a number should abscond, when is the appropriation to satisfy those who are appointed to supply the vacancies? Twenty-five thousand dollars a year is allowed by law to the President, in the appropriation this sum is included; suppose the President to draw the whole sum on the first day of his entrance into office, and to die a few days after, upon what fund is his successor to draw for his compensation? These are possible cases and Treasury practices which have obtained with respect to the President, have the same principle of illegality to justify their extension to all, and if permitted to all, the public purse would become a prey to chicanery and fraud.

“ PITTACHUS.”

“ 1st November 1795.”

“ To

*" To Oliver Wolcott, Esq. late Comptroller, now
Secretary of the Treasury of the United States.*

" SIR,

" That the most incontrovertible evidence may be given to the public, of your guilt and evasion under the charges of the *Calm Observer*, and that your reiterated assertion, " that not one dollar has " been *at any time*, advanced for the use of the " President, for which there was not an existing " appropriation," may be proved to be totally destitute of foundation, I now subjoin the following facts and remarks, in addition to my short statement of Thursday last.

" On the 29th of September 1789, Congress passed an act appropriating 25,000 dollars for payment of one year's compensation to the President of the United States.

" On the 26th of March 1790, Congress passed an act, appropriating 25,000 dollars for payment of another year's compensation to the President of the United States.

" On the 11th of February 1791, Congress passed an act, appropriating 25,000 dollars, for payment of a third year's compensation to the President of the United States.

" On the 23d of December 1791, Congress passed an act, appropriating 25,000 dollars, for payment of the fourth year's compensation to the President of the United States.

" These are the only acts, that were, at any time, passed by Congress, making appropriation for the President's compensation, during his first four year's term of service.

" These

" These acts were subject, at the Treasury, to one of the following rules of construction, and no other.

" 1st. That the appropriation of each year, was to be considered as operating by the *Calendar year*, that is, from the 1st day of January to the 1st day of January succeeding; or,

" 2dly. That the appropriation of each year was to be considered as operating by the *Congressional year*, that is, from the 4th day of March, to the 4th day of March succeeding;—or,

" 3dly. That the appropriation of each year was to be considered as operating by the *Presidential year*, that is, from the 30th day of April, when the President qualified into office, and commenced his services, to the 30th of April following;—or,

" 4thly. That these four several acts of appropriation were to be taken together, and considered as forming *an aggregate appropriation* for payment of the President's legal compensation, during the whole of his first term of service.

" And yet, Sir, it is no less remarkable than true, that by every one of these rules of construction, you have violated the appropriation acts of Congress, and paid to the President, money out of the public Treasury, for which, *at the time of payment*, there was not *an existing appropriation* to authorize the same;—and thus I prove it.

" On the 31st of December 1790, taking it by the *Calendar year*, your official report to Congress of the receipts and expenditures of the public money, pages 16 and 17, shew that you had then paid to the President, 4264 dollars more than he was legally entitled to, up to that day, and, consequently,

sequently, that by this rule of construction, the appropriation was violated.

“ On the 4th of March 1791, taking it by the *Congressional year*, the same official reports shew, that you had then paid to the President, 5537 dollars more than he was legally entitled to, up to that day; and, consequently, that by this rule of construction, the appropriation was violated.

“ On the 30th of April 1791, taking it by the *Presidential year*, the same official reports shew, that you had then paid to the President 5150 dollars more than he was legally entitled to, up to that day; and, consequently, that by this rule of construction, the appropriation was violated.

“ On the day the President's first term of service expired, viz. the 3d day of March 1793, taking the several acts together, and as forming *one aggregate appropriation*, it will be seen by the same official report, that you had then paid to the President 1037 dollars more than he was legally entitled to, up to this day: and, consequently, that by this rule of construction, the appropriation was violated.

“ But, Sir, if it were possible, for the most blind and devoted apologist of your conduct, to possess a remaining doubt of your guilt, let him attend to the further facts and remarks following.

“ Between the 4th of April 1793, and the 4th of June 1793, being the first quarter of the President's re-election into office, under his present term, there was paid to him, for compensation 11,000 dollars;—

“ By the act fixing the President's compensation, passed the 18th of February 1793, there is allowed to him, *at the rate of 25,000 dollars per annum, in full for his services*, to be paid at the Treasury quarter yearly.

“ By the act of appropriation for the support of government for the year 1793, there is appropriated

ted 25,000 dollars, "for the compensation *granted by law* to the President of the United States."

"Now, Sir, the compensation *granted by law*, was at the rate of 25,000 dollars *per annum*, in full for services, payable at the Treasury *quarter yearly*; and, consequently, the appropriation of 25,000 dollars, which was made for a whole year's services, could not be paid otherwise than *quarter yearly*; as the services accrued; that is, 6250 dollars at the end of each quarter, and no more.—When, therefore, Sir, you paid to the President 11,000 dollars, *in one quarter*, you expressly and positively violated the appropriation of Congress, and actually paid to the President, 4750 dollars on account of compensation, for which, *at the time of payment*, there was not an *existing appropriation* to justify it.

"Further, Sir, the compensations of all the executive and judicial officers of the government are provided for in the same act of appropriation, which provides for the President, and are by law *expressly ordered* to be paid at the Treasury *quarter yearly*; that is, at the end of each quarter, *after*, and *not before* the services have been rendered: And you know, that the constant, uniform, and invariable practice, at the Treasury, has been, *except in the case of the President*, to pay them in that manner, and not otherwise.

"Indeed, Sir, it would look like insult, under any other circumstances than the present, to remind the head of the Treasury Department, that a contrary conduct, such as you have adopted in the case of the President, would not only be in violation of the laws of compensation and appropriation; but, moreover, productive of confusion, distress and bankruptcy at the Treasury: Since the appropriation for the support of government is made payable out of the accruing duties of each year;

year ; and an established right in the officers of government, to claim their compensations which amount to several hundred thousand dollars *per annum*, either on the first day of the year, or on the first day of a quarter, before the services were rendered, would create a demand at a time, when there might not, and possibly would not be, a single shilling in the Treasury, arising out of that appropriation to satisfy it.

“ The foregoing facts and reflections, Sir, are addressed to you ; and although I believe they cannot more fully confirm those convictions of your own guilt, with which you are impressed, and would, therefore, in that view, have been withheld ; yet, Sir, respect for the public opinion, to which the verity of the charges against you is submitted, has induced me to offer them.

“ Nor, Sir, can I close the correspondence with you on this subject, without remarking, that the charges which I have adduced against the President, the late Secretary of the Treasury and yourself, are of solemn and serious import ; that they were not lightly and trivially made, nor are, or will be, lightly and trivially supported before any tribunal, which jointly or severally you dare appeal to ; that, specifically repeated, they stand as follows :

- “ 1st. A violation of the laws of appropriation by Congress ;
- “ 2dly. A violation of the laws granting compensation to the President, for his services ;
- “ 3dly. A violation of the constitution of the United States, in various parts and clauses of it ; and,
- “ 4thly. A violation of your several and respective oaths of office.

" Finally, Sir, whilst I know of no *crime* or *misde-meanor* against the constitution and the laws, *greater* or *higher* than that which you have severally committed, I confide in the paramount justice of my country, and the perfect integrity of those constituted authorities, with whom the power of impeachment resides, that the 4th section of the second article of the constitution, which provides " that the *President*, Vice-President, and all civil " officers of the United States, shall be removed " from office, on *impeachment* for, and *conviction* " of, treason, bribery, or other *high crimes* and " *misdemeanors*," was not made in vain, or is to be regarded by the people of the United States, as a mere dead letter.

" A CALM OBSERVER."

" November 2, 1795."

Extract from a Justification, published by Mr. Hamilton, dated 11th November, 1795.

" It is requisite to enquire further, whether there has been any improper use or rather abuse of the discretion which is contended for; for here there is likewise an unquestionable responsibility.—It is seen that the advances have at no time equalled one quarter's salary.

" I ask, was it unreasonable or unfit, if constitutional and legal, to afford the President of the United States an accommodation to this extent.

" I pledge my veracity, that I have always understood, and to this moment I have good reason to be satisfied, that the expenses of the President, those of his household and others incident to his official situation, have fully equalled, if not, on some occasions, exceeded the allowance made to him

him by the United States. Under this conviction, especially, how could the head of a department hesitate, by *so small an accommodation* as the advance of less than a quarter's salary, to enable the President of the United States to meet his expenses as they accrued, without being obliged to intrench upon his own private resources, or to resort to the expedient of *borrowing* to defray expenses imposed upon him by public situation? I knew that no possible risk could attend the advance, little considerable as it was.—The estate of the President was answerable in case of death or other premature vacancy, and abundant for the indemnification of the Government.

“ Reasons of a *peculiar kind* forbade hesitation—namely, the scale of expense was unavoidably such as to render the income even of what is deemed a large landed property in this country a slender auxiliary—Without an advance from the Treasury, it was not improbable BORROWING might be necessary—Was it just to compel the President to resort to that expedient for a purpose in fact public, at his private expense? Was it for the dignity of the nation that he should have been exposed to a necessity, to an embarrassment of this sort?

“ My judgment and feelings answered both these questions in the negative. I entertained no doubt of the constitutionality or legality of the advance—and I thought the making of it due to the situation; due to propriety; due to every public consideration connected with the subject—I can never regret it.

“ *How far the President was privy to the course of advancing, I cannot say*—But it is certain they have been all made to *his private secretaries* upon a general arrangement, and *not by special directions from him*. I think it proper to add, that very early in the day, and probably before any advance was made, on an application by Mr. LEAR for a sum
which

which would constitute an advance, he qualified it by this observation, "if in your opinion it can be done with legality and perfect propriety;" I answered, that I had no doubt of either.

The following Abstract closed Mr. Hamilton's Justification.

Quarterly Statements of the Account for Compensation of the President of the United States, from his taking the Oath of Office on the 30th April, 1789, to the 30th September, 1795.

		DOLLARS.
1789		
Sept. 30.	Compensation from 30th April to 30th	
	June 1789, - - - -	4,246
	Compensation 1 quarter ending 30th	
	Sept. 1789, - - - -	6,250
		<hr/>
	Warrants drawn 26th Sept. 1789, -	10,496
		<hr/>
	Due to the President, 30th Sept. -	9,496
Dec. 31.	Compensation due, -	6,250
		<hr/>
		15,746
	Warrants drawn this quarter, -	13,500
		<hr/>
1790	Due the President 31st Dec. -	2,246
March 31.	Compensation due, -	6,250
		<hr/>
		8,496
	Warrants drawn, -	8,246:66
		<hr/>
	Due the President 31st March, -	249:34
June 30.	Compensation due, - - -	6,250
		<hr/>
		6,499:34
	Warrants drawn, -	8,253:34
		<hr/>
		Due

FEBRUARY, 1797.

439

DOLLARS.

Due the United States, 30th June,			1,754
Sept. 30.	Warrants drawn,	- -	9,000
			<hr/>
Compensation due,		- -	10,754
			6,250
			<hr/>
Due the United States, 30th Sept.			4,504
Dec. 31.	Warrants drawn,	- -	6,000
			<hr/>
Compensation due,		- -	10,504
			6,250
			<hr/>
Due the United States, 31st Dec.			4,254
1791. March 31.	Warrants drawn,	- -	8,150
			<hr/>
Compensation due,		- -	12,404
			6,250
			<hr/>
Due the United States, 31st March			6,154
June 30.	Warrants drawn,	- -	4,500
			<hr/>
Compensation due,		- -	10,654
			6,250
			<hr/>
Due the United States, 30th June,			4,404
Sept. 30.	Warrants drawn,	- -	8,000
			<hr/>
Compensation due,		- -	12,404
			6,250
			<hr/>
Due the United States, 30th Sept.			6,154
Dec. 31.	Warrants drawn,	- -	5,500
			<hr/>
Compensation due,		- -	11,654
			6,250
			<hr/>
Due the United States, 31st Dec.			5,404
1792. March 31.	Warrants drawn,	- -	6,000
			<hr/>
Compensation due,		- -	11,404
			6,250
			<hr/>
			Due

			DOLLARS.
June 30.	Due the U. States, 31st March,	-	5,154
	Warrants drawn,	-	6,000
			<hr/> 11,164
	Compensation due,	-	6,250
Sept. 30.	Due the U. States, June 30,	-	4,904
	Warrants drawn,	-	2,500
			<hr/> 7,404
	Compensation due,	-	6,250
Dec. 31.	Due the U. States, 30th Sept.	-	1,154
	Warrants drawn,	-	8,000
			<hr/> 9,154
	Compensation due,	-	6,250
1793 March 31.	Due the U. States, 31st Dec.	-	2,904
	Warrants drawn	-	8,500
			<hr/> 11,404
	Compensation due,	-	6,250
June 30.	Due the U. States, 31st March	-	5,154
	Warrants drawn	-	6,000
			<hr/> 11,154
	Compensation due,	-	6,250
Sept. 30.	Due the U. States, 30th June	-	4,904
	Warrants drawn,	-	6,000
			<hr/> 10,904
	Compensation due,	-	6,250
Dec. 31.	Due the U. States, 30th Sept.	-	4,654
	Warrants drawn,	-	7,000
			<hr/> 11,654
	Compensation due,	-	6,250
			<hr/> Due

FEBRUARY, 1797.

441

DOLLARS.

1794	Due the U. States, 31st Dec.	-	5,404
March 31.	Warrants drawn,	-	5,000
			<hr/>
	Compensation due,	-	10,404
			6,250
			<hr/>
June 30.	Due the U. States. 31st March,	-	4,154
	Warrants drawn,	-	6,000
			<hr/>
	Compensation due,	-	10,154
		-	6,250
			<hr/>
Sept. 30.	Due the U. States, 30th June,	-	3,904
	Warrants drawn,	-	7,000
			<hr/>
	Compensation due,	-	10,904
		-	6,250
			<hr/>
Dec. 31.	Due the U. States, 30th Sept.	-	4,654
	Warrants drawn,	-	6,000
			<hr/>
	Compensation due,	-	10,654
		-	6,250
			<hr/>
1795	Due the U. States, 31st Dec.	-	4,404
March 31.	Warrants drawn,	-	7,000
			<hr/>
	Compensation due,	-	11,404
		-	6,250
			<hr/>
June 30.	Due the U. States, 31st March,	-	5,154
	Warrants drawn,	-	4,000
			<hr/>
	Compensation due,	-	9,154
		-	6,250
			<hr/>
Sept. 30.	Due the U. States, 30th June,	-	2,904
	Warrants drawn,	-	2,500
			<hr/>
	Compensation due,	-	5,404
		-	6,250
			<hr/>

Due the President 30th Sep. 1795,

846

DOLLARS.

PROOF.

Compensation from April 30, to June 30, 1789,	
62 days, - - -	4,246
Compensation from July 1, 1789, to Sept. 30,	
1795, 6 years 3 months, - -	156,250
Total due Dols.	160,496
Advanced till the end of 1791, per printed state-	
ment, - - -	72,150
Ditto in 1792, - - -	22,500
Ditto in 1793, - - -	27,500
Ditto in 1794, - - -	24,000
Ditto in 1795, to Sept. 30, - -	13,500
	159,650
* Balance due the President,	846
	160,496

TREASURY DEPARTMENT,

Register's Office, Nov. 13, 1795.

Extracted from the Books of the Treasury,

JOSEPH NOURSE, Register.

* This abstract establishes one unpleasant and embarrassing fact; to wit, that General Washington, *instead of refusing to accept of any salary* (which his admirers have said was the case), actually *overdrew* his salary, and had, from June 1790 to June 1795, constantly several thousands of dollars of the *public money* in his hands.—Whether he really did let this money out at *usurious interest*, as it was asserted, will, perhaps, never be known.

The following Article, which was published in BACHE's Paper of the 21st December 1796, will prove that there were other reasons for the General's retiring, which he did not think proper to state.

“ The President seems to arrogate great merit to himself on account of his disinterestedness, and in this he no doubt includes his declension to serve again. The disinterestedness on this latter score is rather questionable ; for his unwillingness to be a candidate seems to have arisen rather from a consciousness that he would not be re-elected, than a want of ambition or lust of power. It was well understood that many of the republicans of the constitution were determined to give him opposition, and the nature of the United States promised success to the plan. Nothing was more easy than to make him a *Vice-President* by uniting the republican suffrages in favour of JOHN ADAMS and subtracting even a few votes from him—He was probably apprized of the scheme, and to save himself from the mortification and disgrace of being superseded, he cunningly declined.—It may be thought singular, that JOHN ADAMS, who is a professed aristocrat, should be preferred by republicans to GEORGE WASHINGTON ; but an examination into the case will make the preference appear very plain and desirable. There can be no doubt that ADAMS would not be a *puppet*—that having an opinion and judgment of his own, he would act from his own impulses rather than the impulses of others—that possessing great integrity, he would not sacrifice his country's interests at the shrine of party—and that being an enemy to the corruptions which have taken place by means of funding and
bank

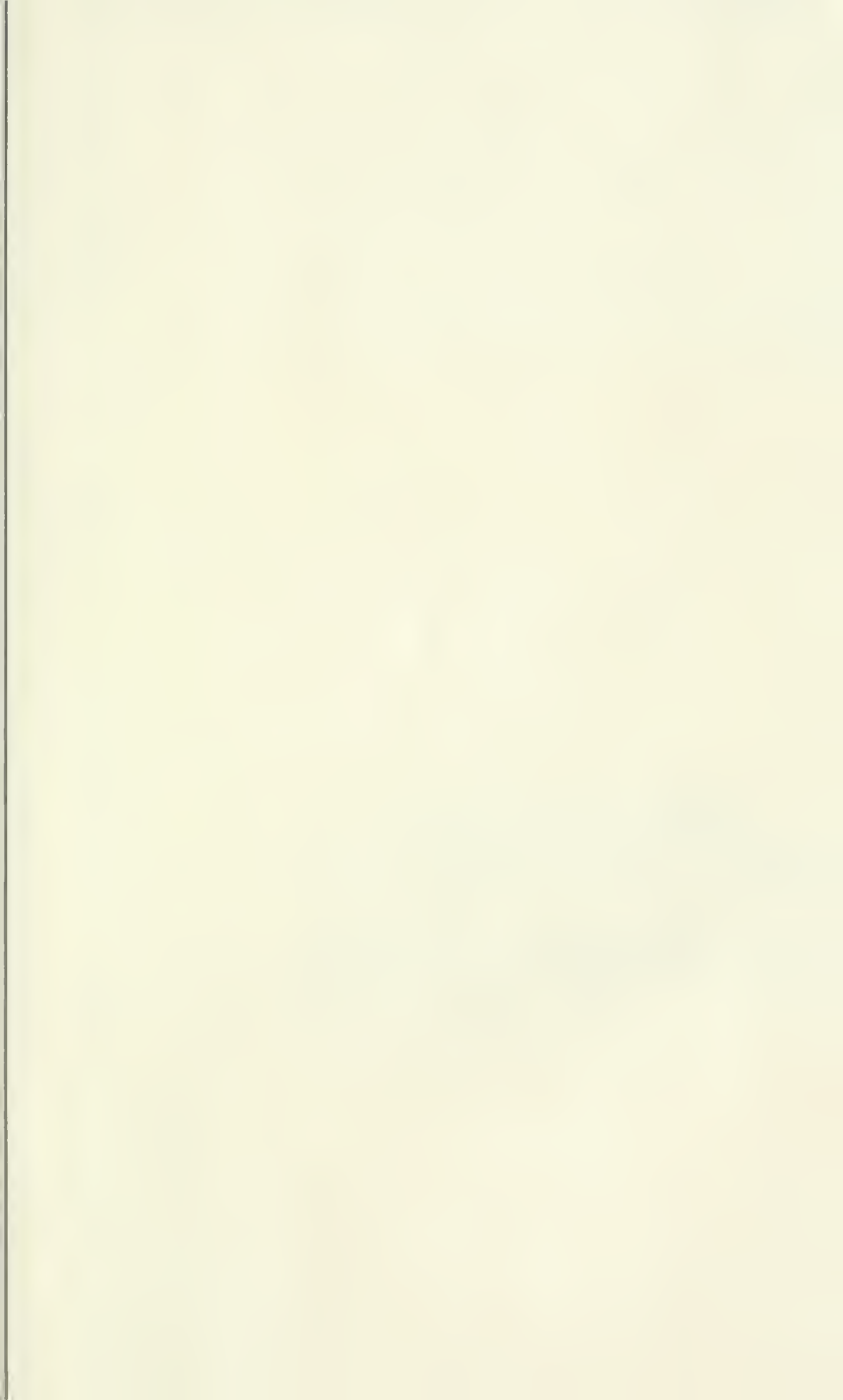
bank systems, he would not lend his aid to the further prostitution of the American character—In addition to these considerations, it is well known that ADAMS is an aristocrat only in *theory*, but that WASHINGTON is one in *practice*—that ADAMS has the simplicity of a republican, but that WASHINGTON has the ostentation of an eastern bashaw—that ADAMS holds none of his fellow men in slavery, but that WASHINGTON does. Considerations so imperious could leave no hesitation on the minds of *republicans* to which of the two to give the preference—The difference is immense, and no friend to republicanism would hesitate one moment in giving a preference to JOHN ADAMS *.

* It is very true, that the man who published this article was a grandson of old Franklin, and possessed all the villainy of his grandfather; but, where such an article could find its way into a public paper, there must have been some part of the community with whose opinions it coincided. The true cause of the general's retiring was, however, the *loss of popularity* which he had experienced, and the further loss which he apprehended from the rupture with France, which he looked upon as inevitable.

END OF WASHINGTON'S RETIRING, AND OF

THE FOURTH VOLUME.





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